THE RIBBONS OF SHAME:
Unravelling Attachment's contribution to the regulation of Shame.

A thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Sciences (Psychology)

by

Elizabeth Louise Pollock

University of Canterbury
2002

Acknowledgements

To my supervisor Ken Strongman, who has put up with me and my idiosyncrasies for so long. Thanks Ken, your comments, ideas, patience, cynicism, charisma, humour and friendship have contributed so much to my enjoyment of the "thesis experience". To Dr Victoria Grace for her advice and her time that she gave me. Thanks Victoria your insights and thoughtful comments were gratefully received.

To my participants, especially those who conducted interviews, your insights and thoughts were amazing, Thank you!.

To my mum Heather, thank you for being funny, clever and loving. Thank you to my dad Martin, for his smile, brain, quirkiness and genuine interest in people. Thank you to Tim, my eldest brother, for his wit, cynicism and flare, thanks to my middle sibling Simeon for his gentle, sweet nature, and also to Grandma who is simply celestial.

Thank you to my friends and various loves along the way....

Thank you to Garth Fletcher and Randy Grace for their statistical help. Thanks to Mark Byrd for his advice with the FES.
Finally, big big thank you to Andre, my faithful companion in psychology, I shall miss whiling away the hours with you .

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This study investigated the relationship between internalised shame and shame proneness with attachment dimensions: avoidant/non-avoidant, ambivalent/non-ambivalent. Two hundred undergraduate students, one hundred males with a mean age of 24 and one hundred females with a mean age of 23, from the University of Canterbury, took part in the following research. Internalised shame (IS) was measured by Cooks Internalised Shame scale (ISS). Tangney's Test of Self Conscious Affect (TOSCA) measured shame proneness, and attachment organisation was measured using Simpson's Close Relationships Scale (CRS). The latter was modified to apply to family, romantic and friend attachment relationships. Moos and Moos' Family Environment Scale (FES), was implemented to investigate whether cohesion, conflict, expression, independence or control influenced levels of IS and TOSCA shame.

It was hypothesised that individuals with avoidant attachments or attachments with high ambivalence would exhibit higher shame levels across all three attachment styles. Family environment will contribute to shame proneness and internalised shame. It was also hypothesised that there will be sex differences amongst the quantitative data, where females will exhibit higher levels of internalised shame and shame proneness. Results revealed that avoidant and ambivalent attachments significantly predicted IS across romantic, family and friend relationships. Gender was also a significant predictor for IS when attachment styles were included.

Sixteen interviews were also conducted based on the four highest scoring males and females on the ISS. The four lowest scoring males and females on the ISS were also interviewed. Interviews inquired into family, friend and romantic relationships and ideas about the self. Interviews were analysed using Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). On analysis, males and females with lower IS scores indicated more secure and stable family relationships. By contrast high shamed individuals revealed inadequacies and insecurities in their relationships and reported a lack of love and support from their family. In conclusion, attachment relationships modify individual shame levels, with friendship and romantic ambivalence contributing the most to internalised shame.

Chapter one: Introduction

Why am I small and cramped and helpless why are there newspapers on the floor and why didn't I remember to gather up the dirt. Where am I living that I'm not neat and tidy with a perm? Oh if only the whole of being were blued and washed and hung out in the far away sun. Nora has travelled she knows about things, it would be nice to travel if you knew where you were going and where you would live at the end or do we ever know, do we ever live where we live, we're always in other places, lost like sheep, and I cannot understand the leafless cloudy secret and the sun of any day.

The day of the sheep

By Janet Frame.

Although shame is well documented in the psychological literature, this emotion is not well understood. There are multiple definitions, theories and disagreements regarding its origins, development, form, duration and pathology. Arguments revolve around differentiating shame from other negative emotions such as guilt, social shyness, embarrassment and low self-esteem. (Scheff & Retzinger 1997, Tangney 1996, Gilbert 1994) and distinguishing trait shame from state and pathological shame. In doubt is the relationship between shame and a number of psychopathologies including narcissism, borderline personality disorder (Nathanson, 1994), depression (Brewin 1985, Andrews et al., 1997), suicide (Lansky, 1995), eating disorders (Nathanson, 1992), substance abuse (Cook, 1988), aggression, (Tangney et al., 1992), posttraumatic stress disorder and anxiety (Tangney et al., 1992, Gilbert, 1998).

This thesis will attempt to delineate some of these concerns. Primarily I will argue that shame is an essential emotion with regard to attachment relationships. It helps to regulate and maintain them. Individuals who are either enmeshed or isolated in their relationships find it difficult to move smoothly between separateness and togetherness. Shame is most often elicited when relationship bonds are rigid and individuals cannot glide smoothly through these transitions. When shame is not acknowledged, an individual struggles to regulate negative emotions and express relationship concerns with the other. When shame is in excess, relationships are frequently damaged. I argue that shame is modified by one's attachment style. Shame is the intensely negative affect that is experienced when attachments are threatened. Accordingly, those who are ambivalently attached are likely to have excess shame as anxiously attached individuals tend to become enmeshed in their specific relationships and hyper-vigilant to threatened bonds. Alternatively, avoidantly attached individuals, who have a tendency to push others away and become isolated, may experience what Helen Block Lewis (1987) refers to as by-passed shame.

I will argue that shame is socialised primarily through one's attachment with the primary caregiver, according to attachment theory (Bowlby, 1980). It is in this context that an infant first learns about relationships and the self. If this relationship is full of conflict or contempt aimed at the child, then the child learns that s/he is inherently unlovable (Magai, 1995). This working model continues with the child throughout development and into adulthood where the individual learns to interact with their friends and romantic partners in a similar vein to that in their earlier family environment. To convince the reader of my hypothesis I will expand

upon shame and its social properties, its key to relationships, its relationship to attachment styles, and its regulatory involvement in social distance.

Setting the scene...

I digress from the topic of shame momentarily to consider emotions as a whole, their purpose, and their necessity. I wish to start by introducing Sylvan Tomkins, a man who dedicated his life to emotion research and cultivated ground breaking postulates regarding the value of the affect system. The importance of emotions as a motivating, goal directing system is the canvas on which I shall illustrate my actual thesis topic shame and its utility in attachment relationships.

Introducing Silvan...

Silvan Tomkins (1963) was one of the pioneering theorists who attacked Freud's theories on emotion (Freud, 1953). In brief, Tomkins clearly stated that "affect make things matter". He questioned Freud's well accepted descriptions of affects as mere side effects of libidinal or aggressive impulses and wishes. Moreover he argued that Freud confused the role of the drives: hunger, thirst, elimination, sex, pain and the need to breathe – with the very distinct role of affects (Freud, 1953). The role of the drive, suggests Tomkins, is to instruct the organism what needs to be done, and how it is to be done, even though the organism may not know how or why to do it. He further suggests that the drives only become urgent when assembled with an affect. It seems like all drives are paired with one or perhaps more affects and therefore act as a motivating system that aid in the completion of drives. In contrast to the traditional Freudian- Hullian view of affects as irrational and relatively superfluous Tomkins insists that emotions flesh out such drives, providing a more robust, and meaningful experience

for the individual. Indeed Tomkins claimed that our success as a species is probably due to our large, complex, repertoire of emotions (Nathanson, 1997).

Although Tomkins and others were purporting a feasible, and, in my view, likely argument by highlighting the importance of our affect system, the function, definition, and development of emotions are still, some forty years on, unknown or unclear to many psychological professionals. Although there is still considerable debate and disagreement amongst theorists regarding the exact nature of emotion, clarity is slowly starting to emerge in terms of the necessity of emotional systems for optimal human functioning. It is evident, that emotions serve crucial communicative, motivational, informative and developmental functions (Frijda, 1994).

Tomkins's influential stance generated consequent research, which further emphasised the importance of emotions for human motivation (Nathanson, 1997). Consequently many psychologists now propose that what aids the development of the self, aside from genetically inherited traits, is relationships (Gilbert et al., 1998).

Ideas from Tomkins and Bowlby...the similarities

Around the same time as Silvan Tomkins was outlining his significantly robust affect theory, John Bowlby expressed the entirety of his attachment theory. Carol Magai (1999) eruditely highlights the similarities of these two important theories. Interestingly the two theorists had overlapping life-spans, yet there is no evidence that they were influenced at all by each other. This is probably due to Bowlby's work being more in the child developmental area. Only recently has attachment research expanded its scope to include the entire lifespan, which makes it more on par with

affect theory (Magai, 1999). I will outline some basic similarities as I believe this highlights the relationship with shame and attachment style.

To Tomkins the face was pivotal in understanding an individual's specific affects. Bowlby also believed that the face provides important clues in early development, but rather than affectual, such clues were considered to be "attachment signals". For example smiles and cries of distress were aimed at the primary caregiver to help guarantee needs were met. Thus affectual facial displays for Bowlby were important for a secure attachment with a caregiver, whereas Tomkins viewed such emotional expressions not as mere signals but as the primary goal.

Tomkins outlines four basic goals for human existence. "To maximise positive affect, to minimise negative affect, to minimise affect inhibition, and to have the power to maximise other goals" (Magai, 1999, pp.788). Variances will occur due to individual differences in development, in modifying goals, and in differing success in achieving them. For Bowlby, there are two basic goals, those of attachment and of exploration. Ideally these two goals should be achieved during development and be maintained in balance throughout the life span. By contrast, impaired development restricts or damages attachment and exploration.

In terms of affect regulation, both theorists recognised that cognitive strategies and processes of attention are utilised when interpreting affective stimuli. Throughout development, according to Tomkins, certain frequently experienced affects become ordered in the personality, in the form of "ideo-affective organisations". These organisations then serve as "filters" and "amplifiers" of incoming sensory information. "Ideo-affective organisations are similar to scripts, which regulate the rules and strategies for ordering,

interpreting, evaluating, predicting, and controlling affectively laden scenes or events" (Magai, 1999 pp. 788).

For Bowlby, two attentional strategies: deactivation and hyper vigilance, can develop as a consequence to negative affectual responses from primary caregivers. These attentional strategies map onto the avoidant and ambivalent classifications respectively. The deactivation attentional strategy helps to ward off the onset of overt distress, although such negative affect may be experienced at some level in a non-conscious way (Dozier & Kobak, 1992). This is presumably, what Block Lewis refers to as by-passed shame. A hyper-vigilant strategy occurs when an individual actively seeks out all potential signs and signals of interpersonal distress. These blueprints of affect regulation are deeply embedded in early relational experiences. They continue throughout life by means of "working models" of self and other. Such internal working models set the scene for future interactions with others in everyday life and are somewhat similar to Tomkins's scripts (Magai1999).

Relationships, in attachment theory, are the primary goal and the most important consequence of development. In affect theory, relationships are important building blocks of emotion socialisation. Tomkins (1987) acknowledges that parents play an important role in the child's acquisition of emotional skills and in their individual way of regulating affects.

Our remarkable ability to form attachments with others begins at birth and continues throughout life. Particularly important in the establishment of attachments are the positive affects; which operate as vital reinforcers that motivate individuals to seek close personal bonds throughout life. I wish to posit that shame is important, and acts as a distance regulator in close relationships based on the work of Helen Block

Lewis. I will further argue that used optimally, shame prevents us from losing the concept of self and helps in preserving self boundaries, whilst highlighting the need of closeness to others (Lewis 1987).

Some thoughts about shame from Tomkins...

Silvan Tomkins's (1963) definition of shame is important when considering the contribution shame makes to attachment. He describes it as an "innate attenuator of the positive affects". He sees shame as a continuum ranging from shame to humiliation, and does not distinguish between shame, guilt, shyness or embarrassment. Although he acknowledges that the intensities and the stimuli that produce them will vary, the innate structures and biological processes will be similar. Tomkins also outlines the overt facial and bodily expressions of this affect as one that "reduces facial exposure and thereby facial communication. The individual's head, eyes, eyelids and sometimes the upper body droop to conceal the face and to prevent eye contact".

What is pivotal in Tomkins's definition is that shame-humiliation is the incomplete reduction of positive affect, thus allowing the individual to pursue the stimulus of such positive affects again, when shame has dissipated. Once shame has been activated the positive affect may inhibit shame and reduce its impact, or shame may override the positive affect and continue. Such shame-humiliation scripts during development are couched in a lifetime of experiences and are transformed into a complex emotional system, perhaps involving other affects or even triggered by them (Cook, 1988).

A general consensus seems to glean that Tomkins's theory starts to erode when one considers situations when positive affects are reduced and shame is not elicited. For example, a favourite television programme is

interrupted due to an electrical failure. In fact there are many instances when positive affect, excitement or interest is reduced and shame is not elicited. Therefore to my mind, Tomkins's definition seems to be incomplete. Also problematic is Tomkins's lack of differentiation between shame, guilt, and the other self conscious emotions. Failing to distinguish between shame and guilt is to deny the importance and separate functions of these two emotions. Without a clear and separate definition of these emotions, their different functions may be eclipsed and their differential pathology missed. What is particularly important in distinguishing these two affects is the role of the self (Lewis, 1987, Tangney, 1991). Clinically the self may be described as a person's self-state. The self-state refers to the person's feeling of demarcation (self/non-self, internal/external, self/object), continuity (the feeling of being the same person) and value (the feeling of being significant as a person) (Kohut, 1971; Stern, 1985).

In distinguishing between shame and guilt...

Helen Block Lewis (1971), a seminal theorist of shame, based her theories in the 1970's on verbatim transcripts of several hundred psychotherapy sessions. Some of her pioneering research was based on the distinction between shame and guilt. She conceptualised that when shamed, a person's focal concern was the self's negative evaluation of the entire self. On the contrary in guilt, focus involved the self's negative evaluation of specific behaviours. Due to the concentration on the self's behaviour and not the actual self, guilt is uncomfortable and the self feels bad about its behaviour, but it is not debilitating. That is the self remains "able" (Wicker et al., 1983). Shame on the other hand, is a much more global, painful and even devastating experience in which the self, not just the behaviour, is painfully and negatively evaluated (Linsay-Hartz, 1984; Tangney, 1989).

Phenomenological reports indicate that guilt's motivation and behaviour tends to be toward reparative action (Wicker et al., 1983, Linsay-Hartz, 1984, Tangney, 1989). It is possible to undo behaviour, much less to undo a self. Because shame is so closely tied to a self that is considered flawed, this affect is often accompanied by a feeling of worthlessness and powerlessness (Wicker et al., 1983, Linsay-Hartz, 1984; Tangney, 1989). Presumably, because most view the self as global, consistent and enduring, when shame is experienced, one has to accept that this is "my unamendable" self.

These concepts seem to be true both when considering states of shame and guilt, and also when considering proneness to shame or guilt. Conceivably then, each emotion serves a purpose, important enough to require quite different and specific responses.

There seem to be very few standard shame or guilt inducing situations. Events such as lying, cheating, stealing, failing to help another and disobeying parents, were reported by both adults and children as eliciting guilt for some and shame for others (Tangney et al.,1990, 1991, 1992). This also supports Block Lewis's reasoning of the self being the focus, when considering which emotion is to be elicited.

Problems with shame measurement

A key factor hindering systematic empirical study of shame centres on the problem of measurement. Shame is an affective state that is difficult, if not impossible to assess directly. For example unlike most of the primary emotions (e.g. anger, sadness, joy) shame does not involve clearly definable, codable facial expressions (Izard, 1977). In evaluating the relative strengths and weaknesses of various measurement strategies, two related issues need to be considered. Firstly what definitions of shame underlie a given measure

and what definitions guided the development of the assessment technique? Secondly, one must consider the validity of such measurement and how closely does the manifestation of shame correlate with these definitions. It is obviously important to consider both how the questionnaires are framed and the type of assessment used.

Currently shame is typically classified into two broad categories. Those that assess emotional states e.g. the manifestation of shame during the event; and secondly those measures that assess emotional traits or dispositions (e.g. shame–proneness) (Tangney et al., 1992). Far more attention has been paid to dispositional measures. The notion underlying these measurements is that, although most people have a capacity to experience shames at various points in their lives, individuals vary in their vulnerability to shame. Currently proneness to shame is measured in two principal ways.

A). A range of scenario's are presented (such as spilling a drink in public) and then a person's judgement of their anticipated distress assessed (Tangney 1992).

B) An internalised shame scale is used in which respondents are asked to rate the frequency with which they experience particular thoughts and feelings (e.g. I feely intensely inadequate and full of self-doubt) (Cook, 1996). This scale appears to assess shame traits, and is focused on global self-evaluations. Tangney (1992) raises doubts about the discriminant validity of this scale, and in particular questions how shame differs from self-esteem. While Cook's shame and self-esteem values are highly correlated Tangney argues that there are distinct differences in the two concepts. She defines self-esteem as "a stable trait involving one's general evaluation of the self, largely independent of specific situations".

Alternatively, she argues that shame proneness is the tendency to experience the emotion shame rather than guilt in certain negative situations.

I however would disagree with this definition and contest that self-esteem fluctuates depending on certain negative and positive events. Moreover, internalised shame is pervasive and can influence many situations. In essence, shame may become more than just an affect and may influence one's interpretation about the self in many situations. Thus, the "trait" approach to measuring shame addresses the more chronic state of frequent shame experiences over a lifetime.

In support of this concept Nathanson (1997) suggests that chronic shame experiences can ruminate in an individual and form overriding negative "moods" about the self. This is similar to Cook's (1996) description of Internalised shame:

"Shame emotions that become implicated in clinically significant symptomatology are the product of many "shame scenes" experienced over time and internalised as an aspect of the self concept, perhaps influential in the development of a personality style (pp 146).

Cook (1996) postulates that measures of situational shame tells us very little about the malfunction of shame. He argues that shame is a primary emotion so that all individuals have the capacity to experience shame episodes, and that situational measures of shame will reveal that capacity. However, it will not reveal shame that has become a stable trait and is experienced outside these particular situations.

Cognitions and beliefs regarding shame...

All individuals wish to be seen as attractive and talented by others, regardless of the importance of the relationship (Baumeister et al., 1995).

The majority of shame theorists who are "cognitive –affect", regard shame as associated with appraisals and evaluations of the self (Gilbert, 1998). I will elaborate on these cognitions, as I believe they are central to shame's involvement in social relationships.

Charles Cooley (1902) was the influential sociologist who coined the term "the looking glass self". This postulate has three important aspects. Firstly, the individual imagines his or her appearance in the minds of others. Secondly, the individual imagines the judgement that our appearance makes on that person and finally there is a specific feeling associated with that judgement. Shame's cognitive component, as judged negatively by others, seems to be pivotal to the experience of shame (Gilbert, 1998, Tangney, 1992, Scheff, 1990, Lutwak et al., 1998). Similarly, "negative self evaluations", often referred to as internalised shame (Cook, 1996), are involved in shame. Such negative self-evaluations relate to the individual believing s/he has a flawed self (Lutwak et al., 1998). Inferiority seems to be a key self-evaluation in shame (Tomkins 1987). However, the individual must deem this inferiority as involuntary, as individuals often accept inferior positions without shame occurring. Thus, when the individual unintentionally creates an image that s/he does not want or feels s/he is in a position that is undesirable then shame is typically elicited (Gilbert 1998).

In short, Gilbert's analysis of shame is that:

" It does not matter if one is rendered unattractive by one's own or other people's actions, what matters is the sense of personal unattractiveness-being in the social world as an undesired self, a self one does not wish to be. Shame is an involuntary response to awareness that one has lost status and is devalued ... (Gilbert 1998 pp 22).

Thus, shame may involve appraisals that one is bad, or that someone thinks one is bad (Scheff et al., 1997). However, (Barret, 1995), like Tangney (1990), posits that it is important to note that no other person need be physically present in shame's appraisals, as we may feel ashamed when we are alone. "The individual that is bad .....may just have a minor (perhaps inaccurate) notion of what he or she influences, and may not distinguish self-evaluation from others evaluation of the self' (Barrett, 1995, pp 41).

Accordingly, the audience can be oneself where shame involves a type of self-perception. In addition, shame indicates knowledge of the individual, about the self as an object, by highlighting how the individual appears to others or to the internalised other (Barret, 1995).

Ideas about shame from Helen Block Lewis...

"Reviewing transcripts of analytic sessions, she found time and again that one result of the psychologist's failure to understand the nature of shame was an inexplicable worsening of symptoms..."

Many of Helen Block Lewis's hypotheses relating to shame have survived rigorous empirical tests (Scheff et al., 1997). Once Lewis realised the significance of shame she began to see it everywhere. She noticed in many therapy sessions an inability for patients to define and label shame experiences, as though shame was not being acknowledged. Consequently therapy in many instances was not working. Through painstaking transcribing, she was able to classify two types of "unacknowledged shame": overt and covert. She characterised overt shame as a physiological sensation, which is unpleasant and uncomfortable, but one that the individual is unable to define. Alternatively, covert shame is experienced as a brief jolt or a wince, which is followed by rapid verbal, mental, or

behavioural sequences. It is never acknowledged as shame and Lewis refers to this as "bypassed shame" (Lewis, 1987).

Interestingly in both types of unacknowledged shame, overt and covert, a scenario of rejection or criticism is a recurring theme (Scheff et al., 1997).

To Lewis the blush was a signal that we are ready to be accepted back into society. In this way, she came to see "shame as a mechanism built into our biological system to guarantee some way of fostering social behaviour" (Lewis, 1994 pp 788).

Shame's influence on social relationships...

Human social bonds are central to well-being and mental health (Leary, 1990). Individuals function well in supportive environments rather than in hostile ones (Gilbert, 1997). It certainly helps if individuals can perceive what others find attractive about themselves, and are able to conform and cooperate in groups. (Leary, 1990).

Similarly, Paul Gilbert sees shame as an emotion that alerts the self and others to unfavourable changes in social status (Gilbert, 1997).

Attempts to make friends mostly include social displays to attract others. How successful these attempts are depend on the ability to display attractive and positive qualities to the other (Gilbert, 1997, 1998, Leary, 1990).

Scheff (1990) has explored the crucial part played by shame in establishing and regulating social bonds. He asserts that shame is a crucial emotion since individuals rely on it in their constant monitoring of self and others. He suggests that such monitoring happens continuously whether "in the moment" or later in time. If his notion is correct then shame would stand as one of the most pivotal emotions in all social relationships.

Scheff's stance is prompted by Lewis's assertions (1987) that shame is intricately involved in social standing and the social bond. Scheff believes that shame seems to go "underground" during adolescence. One develops sophisticated ways of concealing shame, and in some instances develops what Lewis describes as "unacknowledged shame".

Lewis (1987) further stated that acknowledged shame gives us important information and feedback regarding our social bonds and how connected/disconnected we are with others and ourselves.

According to Lewis, one can feel disconnected in two ways. Firstly, one can feel excluded, and invisible, or secondly subject to an unwanted exposure or invasion by others. "It is as if one is so worthless the boundaries of the self are under another's control" (Lewis, 1987).

Retzinger (1998) believes that the role of shame in regulating distance may be a key to understanding all social relationships. If someone comes too close to us we feel invaded or exposed i.e. a shame state. If the person stays too far away, we feel rejected or invisible. Such shame signals help regulate social distance as a constant "readout" of the state of the bond. If such messages are repressed or ignored we cannot tell where we stand with one another (Scheff, 1990). Similarly, Tantum (1991) believes that shame's function lies in control, through mediating relationships with others. It motivates the individual experiencing shame to withdraw from others. He argues that when this process goes wrong psychopathology results. For example an experience of being ashamed may persist and become an over riding, long lasting mood (Nathanson, 1992), reinforcing negative, aversive beliefs and modifying emotional responses to others. A state sometimes referred to as "shame–proneness" (Tantam, 1998). The shame experience highlights the "looking-glass self" (Cooley, 1902) the self

as others see one. It causes one to step back and evaluate the self, and thus helps one to modify one's view of the self. Moreover as a painful affective experience, it draws the person's attention to the significance of the event (Nathanson, 1992). In short, shame may be pivotal in developing trust, understanding and the ability to interact with others (Lewis, 1987)

The Different varieties of shame...

There are differences between being ashamed, shame proneness and internalised shame. Retzinger (1998) encourages individuals to view shame as a broad construct and to see it as a dynamic process. Shame can be experienced within and between people. Having a sense of shame, as one does in attachment relationships is different from being ashamed over a moral transgression. One does not have to feel "ashamed" if they have a sense of shame. A sense of shame is also different from being in a shame state. What Retzinger and Scheff (1997) argue is that having a sense of shame is a continuous phenomenon. Shame and its regulation occurs whether one is maintaining, establishing or breaking bonds and thus the presence of shame is chronic and unremitting. Scheff (1987) argues that for most adults, shame is under the surface. Although most would deny feelings of shame, it still exists but it is simply well regulated. People would be aware more of shame if suddenly faced with rejection from attachment ties, but many can regulate it efficiently and move smoothly from togetherness to separateness. Shame can be painful, when individuals have rigid bonds with an inability to be separate or together and with weak self boundaries. Thus they easily feel rejected, or devalued by the other. One may discern between shame as a completely developed painful feeling, which has a regulating function and pathological shame as the continuing inclination to experience

global and absorbing shame, in which the total function of the person is disturbed (Nathanson, 1994).

Shame and attachment from Block Lewis's perspective...

Adler's (1970) approach argued that children prefer love, and if it is unavailable to them, they will feel abandoned and rejected. When this is the case their adult personality will develop in one of two ways. Either the adult will form an inferiority complex that is a chronic feeling of shame, or the person will manifest a drive for power. Both paths can be interpreted in terms of chronic shame–inferiority equalling overt shame, and the drive for power manifesting into bypassed shame

According to Helen Block Lewis (1987), shame is vital for attachments, as it acts as the adhesive for attachment bonds. She purports that an individual's emotion is vicariously experienced by the other in attachment relationships, and vice versa. She defines shame as "the vicarious experience of the others rejection of the self". Shame can be conceptualised as a loss or a rejection from the other, as if one is losing or rejecting one's self. One of the complications of the experience of shame that Lewis conceived is that of "humiliated fury". She defines this as an anger response directed at the loss of the other, while the self simultaneously is demanding reconciliation from the other. Such conflicting emotions, being angry at and wanting the love of the other are confusing and only functional if the other is able to remain in a loving attachment with the shamed one. Humiliated fury becomes redundant, when the other is truly rejecting of the self or is affectionately unstable. The consequence of this predicament leads to further shame and further humiliated fury. Helen Block Lewis was influential in highlighting the connection between attachment threats and the expression of shame.

What is fascinating when observing infants participating in Ainsworth's strange situation test is that early shame reactions, may be operating in infants, after being reunited with their mothers. (Main and Weston, 1982). Even securely attached infants, will exhibit a brief gaze aversion or a blank facial expression, on return of their mother, even when they seek and accept the reunion. Insecurely attached infants behaviour tends to be inconsistent, on reunion with their mother: the infant will respond by clinging, pulling away and then clinging again. Conversely avoidantly attached infants will indicate that they wish to be put down, refuse to acknowledge the mother and will often be more friendly and express more happiness towards a stranger.

Helen Block Lewis believes that avoidant infants are exhibiting behaviour like a precursor to bypassed shame. These infants are actively rejecting the mother, perhaps due to former rejection. Thus they are bypassing the shame of being rejected, and are not directly expressing humiliated fury. Rather they behave as if they were turning the tables on the rejecting mother by rejecting her. Bowlby (1973) who has studied the effects of broken bonds repeatedly reports the same syndrome. After a lengthy period of futile calling for their missing loved one, these children learn their lesson. In effect they say fine, if you are not coming, then I don't need you anyway. I am sufficient unto myself. This defence is what Bowlby (1973) calls "compulsive self reliance". In effect it is a self inflicted wound in response to a wounding social environment.

For the avoidant infant, approach is not possible, when it is most needed, and when theoretically the attachment need should be at its highest. This may also frustrate and anger the infant, but still approach is avoided, which again sets up the attachment system. Block Lewis explains that there

is no solution to this predicament whilst the infant is focusing attention onto the caregiver. She believes a shift in attention is imperative and thus some sort of repression or denial mechanism is instigated. Attachment is what keeps humiliated fury operating even if this occurs non-consciously. "The temporary ablation of the self in shame thus maintains the attachment system, even at the expense of the self" (Lewis, 1987).

Shames regulation in social distance...

Thomas Scheff (1987) treats shame as a genetically determined emotion, and equally one signalling the state of a social relationship by revealing the degree of alienation (separation or engulfment) of the participants. He believes that shame cues signal a crisis in a social interaction; where too great or too little exposure of one's position can disrupt the relationship (Scheff 1990). How this comes about is far from clear. There is no doubt that shame proneness is damaging to the individual, when it assumes a chronic overriding mood state, and which in its clearest sense indicates rejection of the individual. Shame proneness aside, the experience of shame informs us when we are at fault, and that our behaviour is out of kilter with what is expected of us. At the social level, shame acts as an indicator of how others are reading us. There is further evidence (Scheff, 1990, Gilbert 1998, Tangney 1991) to suggest that shame is at times a positive signal and that it can motivate social awareness and keeps us in tune with a particular relationship. Indeed shame might be considered a highly tuned self-monitor enabling self analysis in relation to others and encouraging us to adapt in many situations.

This view is supported by Lewis (1987), who makes it very clear that shame is essential to attachments. However excess shame is said to produce a loss of self boundaries, and such individuals may adapt too much

to others and loose a sense of their self. To be constantly concerned with others would prevent development of a competent self. In addition, continually worrying about what the other is thinking must place the individual in a powerless, emotionally unstable, position. To regulate one's emotion, through another, must certainly prevent the individual from any sort of self-sovereignty.

Following this line of thought, Retzinger (1998) suggests that shame and anger, signal damaged bonds while pride and joy signal intactness. Clear boundaries of the self are needed in order for an individual to maintain secure bonds and to be able to regulate distance between others. However boundaries of the self are developed by bonds, so secure bonds are necessary for well delineated boundaries of self and the other. A rigid bonding system implies a narrow range of distance between becoming enmeshed or alienated with the other and this restricts the individual and may elicit negative emotions.

Accordingly, shame signals violation of the boundaries that protect relationships. It generates the dynamics of social interaction, and signals the state of the bond, enabling the self to move smoothly through transactions. In this sense shame has adherence qualities. The elicitation of shame brings in to focal awareness both the self and others, enabling us to readjust our behaviour and to move closer or further apart.

Shame may be viewed as a thermostat. It registers when the self becomes alienated from important others (either engulfed or isolated). If the self–monitoring mechanism fails, regulation of the bond becomes difficult. Indeed with the intense sequence of emotions generated by unacknowledged shame, it becomes excessively difficult to regulate the self in relation to

others, leading to dysfunctional behaviour, or a deficit of attachment relationships (Scheff and Retzinger 1997).

Distance within relationships varies greatly, and the key to maintaining a balance of self and other is being able to move smoothly between togetherness and separateness without feeling the pain of shame.

Retzinger (1998) believes that bonds are built, maintained, and repaired due to social distance, or at least in selecting a distance with which individuals are comfortable. If an infant experiences engulfment or isolation during development, that individual may feel comfortable in only one of those states. Inability to regulate distance may help explain the development of a pathological relationship; namely too needy, or too isolated.

When distance is unable to be regulated, individuals may feel constantly alienated from the other, and feel that the self is unlovable. This will inevitably lead to shame and a potential for deterioration of the bond. When self–monitoring systems fail, Retzinger (1998) explains that there are many directions behaviour may take including conflict, aggression, over conformity, mental illness, indifference or withdrawal.

To establish an optimal social distance it is necessary, in Bowlby's (1980) terms, to acquire a secure base. Thus the self must be comfortable with being separate from the other, but be able to return often to the other.

The self system works as a control system helping to sustain a person's relationship to important others between certain limits of distance and accessibility. Bowlby (1973) has termed this process "environmental homeostasis". The interrelationship between the individual and relationship process is complex, involving closeness and distance, approach and withdrawal.

The ability to regulate distance, according to Scheff and Retzinger (1997) involves differentiation, which incorporates the self into relationships with others. A relationship with a high level of differentiation is marked by persons with a solid self, who are able to move freely between togetherness and separateness, with little or no discomfort or emotional reactivity. There is a tolerance for feelings and emotion where communication is direct, clear and specific. The system is elastic and flexible – in short an open system.

Low-level differentiation is marked by persons with a sense that each person is incomplete without the other. Each believes that the self can only be complete in engulfment otherwise one feels isolated. Each has little tolerance for emotion and the relationship is rigid. Closeness is engulfing, separateness is abandonment (Scheff & Retzinger, 1997).

Retzinger (1998) describes shame and alienation as inseparable. Not acknowledging shame creates a self perpetuating cycle. One feels more alienated from the other and therefore more shame. Shame is a message that someone is hurt, something in the relationship is not right, needs are not being met, someone is being taken for granted, someone is giving more than he or she is comfortable with.

When shame is acknowledged, negotiation, adjustments, and change can occur. When shame is denied, inflexibility, resistance to change, and the possibility of a severed bond are generated. Thus shame has a vital function. It provides signals that may help readjustment in relationships and ward off broken bonds.

Attachment in infancy...

It is evident that an infant's first reaction to threats is to cling to the caregiver, rather than fight or flight (Bretherton, 1985). This dependence on

others implies the inherently social nature of humans. It is apparent that bonding is a complex system of emotional and social regulating. Indeed the infant–caretaker unit is an emotional regulating system that is mutually satisfying.

Attachment bonds vary in the degree to which they provide the child with a sense of security. By definition a child who has formed a secure attachment to a caregiver is one who has developed confidence in the responsiveness and availability of that caregiver (Bowlby, 1980). This confidence in the caregiver allows the child to use the attachment figure as a secure base from which to explore. In times of stress, the infant sees the caregiver as a place of safety and security (Ainsworth, 1967, Bowlby, 1980).

By contrast, an insecurely attached child is one who has not developed confidence in the caregiver's responsiveness and/or availability. Consequently, the insecurely attached child has difficulty using the caregiver as a secure base and the child may be unwilling to tolerate separation from the attachment figure (ambivalent) or may try to emotionally distance the self from the caregiver (avoidant) (Marvin et al., 1999).

Attachment and shame...

One way that attachments may influence shame is through their impact on an individual's beliefs about the self or others. That is, children who view the self as lovable tend also to hold positive views of others. Sroufe and Fleeson (1986) suggest that children also develop an understanding of both sides of the attachment relationship. Thus, a child who has had a sensitive attachment figure expects others to be sensitive and will treat others with sensitivity.

The infant's dependence places him or her in close extended contact with a caregiver, enabling that caregiver to be the first and arguably, the most important socialising agent for the infant (Holmes, 1993). All the many types of interactions of a parent with a baby are relevant to the development of shame (Barret, 1995). In general the nature of the relationship that forms determines the child's desires to accept the parent's standards. Consistent with these notions are data showing that children classified as securely attached babies are more likely to comply with their parent's requests (Sroufe, 1979).

It seems likely that most or all of a child's earliest experiences of shame occur in the presence of another person. Moreover, this person is likely to be a caregiver, with whom the child interacts. Bowbly's notion of a working model of self and other is useful in conceptualising the sense of self and illustrating the way in which shame may influence development (Barret, 1995).

According to Bowlby (1980), a child's interaction with a caregiver helps shape working models of self and other (Main et al.,1995). Children develop working models of the self and others, based on interactions with attachment figures, which are thought to be mutually reinforcing (Bowlby, 1973).

If the parent is responsive to the baby, the baby develops a view of that parent and a reciprocal view of the self as worthy. To the extent that the caregiver shows that they love the baby, it will develop a notion of the caregiver as loving and the self as loveable (Main et al., 1995).

When the expectations of the working model are not fulfilled, updating of the model may result. The painful nature of the shame experience motivates such updating by bringing unfulfilled expectations

into awareness (Barret, 1995). The child's update may be that the caregiver is not so wonderful after all, or that the child is not so wonderful after all, or both.

With frequent shame episodes, the child may come to view him or herself as incompetent and/or bad which are key cognitions involved in shame. As further development of self occurs, the shame experience may cause the child to compare its own belief of self with that of others. This may further elaborate the child's beliefs and feelings about the self (Barret, 1995).

An important notion of attachment research is that parental responsiveness and sensitivity to the child's affective signals provide an important context within which the child organises emotional experience and regulates 'felt security' (Thompson, 1999). Findings suggest that children with secure attachments are able to regulate negative affects in a constructive manner. Security of attachment has also been related to affect regulation in social relationships (Magai, 1999). Securely attached individuals are socially competent, and have more friends (Kerns, 1996). Thus not only do secure children demonstrate an ability to tolerate negative affects, such as shame, while maintaining constructive relationships with others, but they are also able to regulate negative emotions so as not to impact on social interaction and social competence.

Attachment and adult relationships...

Bowlby (1969/1982) believed that the child-parent attachment during infancy foreshadowed later romantic relationships, with little distinction between parents to child, partner to partner, or adult child to older parent. Ainsworth highlighted the romantic partner as a secure base,

which would be approached and would console and allow one to go out and explore the world safely (Crowell et al., 1999).

Sroufe & Fleeson (1986) suggest that a child's understanding of the whole attachment relationship is carried forward into later close relationships. Of course, this does not lead to the conclusion that early experiences overrule all future life experiences. In fact, expectations about relationships may be modified by other variables such as parental child-rearing practices (Waters et al., 1991).

Attachment relationships in adults, unlike other relationships, prevent loneliness and restlessness and encourage feelings of belonging and security. Attachment relationships take the form of family, romantic partners and close friendships (Furman et al., 1992). Presumably, shame acts in all these relationships in similar ways.

Adolescents who are secure in their friendly relationships are more supportive in such friendships, whereas ambivalent and avoidant ratings are negatively related. Secure relationships are also associated with a greater number of friendships and greater satisfaction with friendships (Kerns, 1996). Additionally, secure friendship styles are related to self-report ratings of social skills, particularly skilfulness in providing emotional support. Ambivalent style scores are negatively related to social skills ratings, especially with respect to conflict management and self-disclosure (Furman, 1992).

If my assumptions are correct shame is signalled in secure individuals when they need to withdraw from the relationship for the time being and look inside themselves to see what is problematic to the self and how to repair this threat to the relationship. Alternatively avoidant and ambivalent individuals will either not recognise shame (Lewis, 1987), or

they will have excess shame. These individuals will be less inclined to withdraw from relationships and amend the situation. This may result in two outcomes: individuals run the risk of being further rejected, and social bonds severed, or they become extremely fearful of rejection. In short, the social bonds become threatened.

Individuals who are insecure or ambivalent in their relationships are not acknowledging shame, and therefore will become enmeshed in their relationships, or be isolated. Individuals in insecure or avoidant relationships will likely find the transition between togetherness and separateness emotionally reactive and shame will ensue. Some will experience, as they move into separateness, abandonment and overt shame. Others will find it hard to move into togetherness and experience bypassed shame.

If the above assumptions of shame theory have substance then a sense of shame is adaptive and necessary for maintaining social relationships.

Retzinger (1998) states that pathological shame tends to be destructive in social bonding and is a long lasting trait, resulting in anger, aggression, and tending to force people away from the self.

Adler (1970) emphasises the importance of a child's bond with its family. It needs love from one parental bond at critical points in its development or mal-development is likely in one of two directions. The child risks developing an inferiority complex with chronic, overt, undifferentiated shame or a "striving for power" with covert (by- passed) shame (Lewis, 1987).

The individual who lacks adequate familial bonds will not learn to cope with shame, which must inevitably arise in social life, from situations

of rejection, error, or failure. For this reason, such individual are likely to become shame prone (Scheff and Retzinger, 1997).

Retzinger (1998) believes there are three concepts that formulate a "bond". These are the social self, the self's level of differentiation (separateness or togetherness), and the emotional system. A denial of shame, by-passed or overt shame could therefore be problematic for the individual.

If shame's importance lies in the maintaining of social bonds then attachment of those bonds must be crucial in the consideration of shame. Lewis's model then might just set the stage for classifications of attachment styles. It is possible that those individuals who become aggressive and distance others, and thus threaten social bonds, are more avoidant. By contrast, those who seek out close intimate bonds but are unable to maintain them are insecure. Thus individuals, who score highly on avoidant and insecure dimensions, may be experiencing difficulty with shame, either having excess or bypassed shame.

The present study...

The following research will investigate shame and its influence on close relationships. Research will be conducted into participants' attachment styles with their parents, friends and romantic partners.

Family environment is explored to investigate whether this modifies attachment style, or impacts on shame. Shame will be assessed by the Internalised Shame Scale of Donald Cook and The Test of Self Conscious Affect, compiled by June Price Tangney. Jeff Simpson's Romantic Attachment Style questionnaire will be replicated and modified in order for it to be applied to close friendships and family. It will be used in its original form for romantic relationships.

A family environment questionnaire will be implemented to investigate five familial conditions: cohesion, conflict, control, expressiveness and independence.

Overall it is hypothesised that:

Attachment dimensions will modify shame. Those individuals who are high on avoidance, and/or insecurity dimensions will exhibit higher levels of internalised shame and shame proneness. Individuals who have high security, and/or low ambivalence, will have low internalised shame, and low shame proneness.

Family environment will contribute to shame proneness and internalised shame. Individuals whose family environment have high levels of conflict, control, and low levels of expressiveness, cohesion and independence will have higher shame scores on both the internalised shame and shame proneness scales.

Based on previous research, it is hypothesised that there will be sex differences amongst the quantitative data, where females will exhibit higher levels of internalised shame and shame proneness.

In addition to these quantitative results, 16 semi structured interviews will be conducted. Individuals will be drawn from the quantitative study. Eight individuals who scored high on the ISS, and alternatively eight who were low scoring on the ISS. As yet, no quantitative instrument measuring social distance has been developed. The interviews aim to investigate the current theories associated with shame's involvement in social distance, the transition between togetherness and separateness, alienation and engulfment. The aim of the 16 interviews will be exploratory, and will attempt to investigate whether there are consistent patterns to interviewees' behaviour, thoughts and feelings in their close relationships,

that they see affecting themselves, or their relationships. Individuals' feelings about themselves in their close relationships, their expectations and their personal difficulties may also provide some empirical support for current theory regarding shame's involvement in social distance, isolation, and engulfment. Interviews will focus on the individual's family life, their concept of self and how that impacts on their friend and romantic relationships. Although with a limited number (16) of interviews, data will not be expected to be indicative, it may however enrich the study and provide insights and ideas for further research.

Retzinger, Block Lewis and Scheff talk about moving between togetherness and separateness with other individuals, and they believe that this transition is harder and causes pain for those individuals who have high shame. Thus individuals with high shame tend to remain static at one end of the spectrum; this may take the form of a high degree of separateness from others, or high togetherness with others. In both extremes individuals are alienated, either in the form of no self boundaries or alternatively having such extreme self boundaries so that one is isolated and feels invisible.

This theorising seems to be devoid of empirical evidence. Retzinger has written about marital conflict and escalation and within this research she describes couples as either high in togetherness or separateness and this is due to shame, but the majority of her work focuses on the escalation of conflict. She states, "To the degree that a person is alienated from self, he or she is unable to regulate distance with others; the individual is either isolated or engulfed" (Retzinger, pg 181). The more rigid one's bonding system, the more alienated one becomes, this alienation however is complex in that it can manifest in two quite opposing forms that of isolation or

engulfment. Moving beyond these two extremes for high shamed individuals invokes pain and anxiety.

In regard to the qualitative findings, due to their exploratory nature, definite hypotheses are unrealistic, however based on the theory outlined above the individuals who have high scores of internalised shame should indicate more problems in their close relationships than those individuals with low internalised shame. It is unclear how gender will influence the qualitative results. A tentative hypothesis may be that gender influences how shame is manifested both in relationships and in concept of self.

Chapter two: Method

"There! It had come – the moment- the Geste! And although I was so ready, it caught me, it tumbled me over; I was simply overwhelmed. And the physical feeling was so curious, so particular. It was as if all of me, except my head and arms, all of me that was under the table, had simply dissolved, melted, turned into water. Just my head remained and two sticks of arms pressing onto the table. But ah! The agony of that moment! How can I describe it I didn't think of anything. I didn't even cry out to myself. Just for one moment I was not. I was agony, agony, agony."

Katherine Mansfield

From Je ne Parle Pas Francais

Participants

Two hundred students from the University of Canterbury participated voluntarily in this research: 100 males and 100 females. The students ranged in age from 18–35 years with a mean age of 21.5. Females ranged in age from 18–35 with a mean age of 23. Males ranged in age from 18–32, with a mean age of 24. Participants consisted only of younger students, whom did not have any children of their own, in case this complicated questions with regard to "immediate family" on the questionnaires. Of the two hundred participants, 16 were chosen to undertake semi structured interviews. They consisted of 8 males and 8 females, ranging in age from 22–28 with a mean age of 24.

Consent

All participants were informed prior to testing that they were under no obligation to participate. In addition they were given a document reassuring them of the voluntary nature of the study.

In all cases a brief explanation of the purpose of the research was provided before participation (See appendix A). The description of the study was in general terms, since knowledge of specifically what each questionnaire sought to measure would have potentially distorted results. Because of this it was important that each participant was debriefed after they had completed the questionnaires. They were then informed of the aims of the research in more detail. It was ensured that none had residual negative emotional effects from the content of the assessment instruments they had just completed. This procedure met with ethical committee guidelines.

Setting

Each participant was tested individually, in the psychology department. They answered questionnaires at a desk in an office like room, with the experimenter present to answer any inquiries or to resolve problems. Subjects were given as much time as they needed for questionnaire completion. All 16 in depth interviews took place in the same room.

Instruments

The Internalised Shame Scale, (I.S.S.; Cook, 1988 see appendix C) consists of 30 items, six of which are positively worded "self esteem" items. The "shame score" is based entirely on responses to the other 24 negatively-worded shame items. The participants are asked to indicate the frequency

with which they have such feelings, from 0 - seldom to 4 - almost always. This scale yields an overall score of internalised shame. It is concerned with negative self judgements (or internalised judgements). The main purpose of the positively worded items is to reduce the response set but the score of these items can also be used as an estimate of "self–esteem". The ISS is highly correlated with self-esteem scales, in the order of 0.6 – 0.7 (Cook 1993), and thus caution should be exercised in seeing this scale as clearly distinct from self–esteem, as there is clearly an overlap (see appendix B).

The close relationship scale (CRS) by Jeffery Simpson, is a 17-item self-report questionnaire in which respondents rate themselves using a seven-point scale (from strongly disagree to strongly agree), in response to a series of statements about their close romantic relationships such as "I find it easy to get emotionally close with others". The CRS divides respondents into those who are secure/insecure on one dimension and ambivalent/non ambivalent on another. Thus individuals end up with two scores, one for security and one for ambivalence (see appendix C). Simpson et al. (1992) reported Cronbach alpha reliability coefficients of .81 for the avoidance/security for both college men and women. The CRS attachment types have been found to correspond to different types of interpersonal problems (Horowitz et al., 1993) and to differential recollections of childhood punishment, and abuse experiences (Clark, 1994). This questionnaire was modified for this experiment by replacing "romantic partner" with the word "family" in all 17 questions, to assess intra-familial attachments (See appendix D). A third questionnaire was modified by replacing close romantic relationships with close friendships (See appendix E). Thus three attachment scales were used for romantic relationships, family and close friendships respectively.

The family environment scale (Moos 1994) comprises 90 true/false questions divided into three dimensions: relationships, personal growth and system maintenance. For this research I utilised five out of the original ten subsets. They comprised all three of the relationship dimensions: cohesion expressiveness, conflict; a single subset of the personal growth section: independence and a subset control for the system maintenance dimension. Each subset comprised nine questions where the individual must respond with either true or false. Moos obtained test–retest reliabilities on the 10 subscales after a four-month interval, results ranged from .54 for Independence, .72 cohesion, .70 expressiveness, .66 conflict and .78 for control. Dickerson and Coyne (1987) focused on the validity of three self-report measures of family cohesion and control: the FES, The family Assessment Device (FAD), and the Family adaptability and Cohesion Evaluation scales (FACES 2). FES cohesion was highly correlated with cohesion as measured by the FAD and FACES; it was moderately correlated with family members' ratings of cohesion. The FES and FAD measures of control were significantly correlated. With respect to discriminant validity, FES cohesion and control were uncorrelated, but these indices were highly correlated (about .60) in both FAD and FACES. The questions yield an overall percentage for each subset, where the mean is 50 percent (see appendix F).

The Test of Self Conscious Affect (TOSCA) (Tangney et al., 1992) is a 65–item questionnaire measuring affective, behavioural and cognitive responses associated with shame, guilt, externalisation of blame or responsibility, detachment, unconcern, and pride. On a 5–point likert scale, subjects rate the degree of likelihood with which they would respond to each of 15 brief scenarios. Relevant items are summed across scenarios,

yielding indices of shame–proneness, guilt–proneness, externalisation, detachment, unconcern, alpha pride (in self) and beta pride (in behaviour). The scenarios are drawn from written accounts of personal shame, guilt and pride experiences provided by several hundred students and non-student adults. Reliability of the shame scale, measured through internal consistency, indicates a cronbach alpha in the range of .73 to .80. Test-retest reliability has been measured by a Pearson r-.85 (Tangney et al., 1992).

Evidence of construct validity of the Tosca shame scale is demonstrated through convergent validity with other constructs such as self degradation ($r=.50$, $p<.001$), shyness ($r=.26$, $p<.05$), and depression ($r=.51$, $p<.001$). It is also negatively related to self esteem ($r=.55$, $p<.001$) Tangney et al., 1992). Furthermore, the TOSCA shame scale correlates positively with other shame scales such as the ISS (Tangney et al., 1992) (See appendix G).

Procedure

Respondents were recruited by announcements in laboratory classes and lectures, or by advertisements posted in the Psychology Department. Once initial contact was made with the researcher, a time was decided upon. The researcher made it clear that it would take at least forty minutes to complete the questionnaires. A cover letter/consent form provided a brief description of the investigation as well as assurances of the voluntary and confidential nature of the study. Participants were instructed to read this before continuing with the evaluation, and this was also read out by the researcher. Only those students who signed the consent forms and who verbally agreed to participate were included in the study. The researcher

then administered the internalised shame scale, the family environment questionnaire, and the three attachment scales to all 200 hundred participants. The order of presentation was counter-balanced both between questionnaires and within, to control for order effects. The researcher asked participants to read all questionnaire instructions carefully before continuing. The researcher then repeated the instructions for each questionnaire. The participant was encouraged to ask if s/he had problems in understanding the content of the questions, or to register any difficulties that arose during completion of the questionnaires. After their completion, the debriefing included a more robust explanation of the aims and rationale of the study. Participants were encouraged to note down contact details on their questionnaire, if they were interested in further research in the form of an interview.

Questionnaires were matched by use of a numbering system. After completion of the questionnaires, which took on average forty minutes, subjects were paid five dollars for their time.

Interviews

When all 200 questionnaires had been completed, overall shame scores from the ISS were collated. Interviewee selection was based on participants' scores on this shame scale. The four highest scoring males and females who had written their contact details and similarly the four lowest scoring males and females were approached and asked whether they were still willing to give an interview.

All sixteen participants proved very responsive. Interview times were arranged, and participants were told each interview would take up to two hours.

Aims and Procedure

The intention of the interviews was to gauge participants' perceptions and views about their regulation of social distance, in order to explore empirically the theoretical notions outlined by Retzinger and Scheff. As there is little empirical evidence that shame is a primary contributor to emotional pain experienced by individuals in highly engulfed or isolated relationships it was intended that this be an exploratory investigation. Semi-structured interviews with 16 individuals were carried out: eight males and eight females. Written consent to take part in the study was obtained from all participants. In addition, participants were made aware of their right to withdraw at any time during the interview and they were assured of the confidential nature of the interview. Participants were interviewed at a place of their choice. The interviews focused on four key issues; Incidences in their family during development such as formative experiences that they think helped develop the self, secondly how the participant felt about themselves, including their ideal self in relation to their real self; thirdly their close friendships, and finally their romantic relationships (see appendix H).

It was important to gauge attachment relationships at the present time and also during development to investigate self feelings regarding close relationships. It was hoped that one could glean information regarding interviewees' attitudes to social distance from the aforementioned questions.

A pseudonym was agreed with each participant prior to the interview to ensure confidentiality and anonymity. Participants were given the opportunity to discuss any questions or concerns about the study itself or the

topic area, listen to the tape recording afterwards in the presence of the interviewer and request a copy of the transcript.

The interviewer was prepared to refer the participant to student health counselling if they showed any distress though this did not in fact happen. They were encouraged to stay and talk as long as they felt they needed to. All interviews were audio taped and transcribed by the researcher. High shame individuals are called "Paul", "John", "Mark", "Andrew", "Emma", "Libby", "Anna" and "Megan". Individuals whose score was moderate or low on the ISS are called "Jack", "Ollie", "Brian", "Dave", "Gloria", "Rose", "Lucy" and "Vera". Material was analysed using the methodological framework of Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA), where analysis explores in detail the participant's own view of the topic under investigation (Smith et al., 1999). In this study IPA is concerned with the individual's personal perceptions and cognitions of their relationships and whether they had insight into their regulation of social distance. "Thus IPA, while recognising that a person's thoughts are not transparently available from interview transcripts , engages in the analytic process in order, hopefully to be able to say something about that thinking" (Smith et al., 1999). Themes around social distance were identified within the transcripts, compared, and contrasted to each other to develop commonalities. Through the analysis the eight high shame individuals were compared and contrasted with the eight low shame individuals.

Chapter 3: Results

Survey results

Preliminary regression diagnostics were performed to identify multivariate outliers. Distance analysis to detect outliers in the dependent variable revealed several scores with residuals $(Y_i - \hat{Y}_i)$ greater than three standard deviations. Outliers in the independent variables were examined through leverage analysis. Several scores were identified with leverage values (h_i) in excess of $3(p+1)/n$, where p equals the number of predictors[1]. With regard to scores identified through distance and leverage analysis, the majority were deemed to not be influential. Cook's D, which combines distance and leverage to identify influential observations, identified only three scores that significantly influenced the regression analyses. Further investigation of these participants' responses revealed extreme scores on several variables and that their responses were at times internally inconsistent and therefore believed unreliable. It is for these reasons that these participants were removed from the formal analysis.

Sample Demographics

There were a total of 199 participants, 100 females and 99 males. The distribution of participant's ages was positively skewed, $M = 22.17$, $SD = 5.09$, range 18–48yrs.

[1] This method of identifying extreme outliers follows closely the recommendations of Stevens (1992).

Correlations between Shame Scales

TOSCA Shame is significantly correlated with the Internalised Shame Scale, r =.611, r^2 =.373, p <.001; and TOSCA Guilt, r =.341, r^2 =.116, p <.001. The Internalised Shame Scale and TOSCA Guilt are not correlated, r =.101, r^2 =.01, *ns*.

Sex Differences in Reported Shame

For TOSCA Shame, males (M = 41.64, SD = 8.122) reported significantly less shame than females (M = 46.36, SD = 9.211), $t(197)$ = -3.836, p <.001. For the Internalised Shame Scale, males (M = 33.37, SD = 15.339) did not differ significantly in their levels of reported shame to females (M = 37.04, SD = 16.778), $t(197)$ = -1.608, p =.109.

Sex Differences in Attachment Style

To test sex differences in attachment style a 3(Context) × 2(sex) mixed-model analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted. There were significant main effects of Context $F(2, 394)$ = 14.058, p <.001, and sex $F(1, 197)$ = 4.292, p <.05, for attachment avoidance. The Context × sex interaction was significant $F(2, 394)$ = 3.943, p <.05.

There were significant main effects of Context $F(2, 394)$ = 101.076, p <.001 and sex $F(1, 197)$ = 6.006, p <.05, for attachment ambivalence. The interaction effect was not significant $F(2, 394)$ =.523, p =.593.

Tables 1 and 2 present the detailed results of the ANOVA analyses with the interactions illustrated in Figure 1.

Regressions to Explore Attachment Style as a Predictor of Shame

To explore the relationship of attachment style to shame a series of multiple regression analyses were conducted. The analyses were repeated for each dependent shame measure. The models consisted of three predictors: the attachment scale's avoidant and ambivalent axes, and gender which served as a control.

With regard to Internalised Shame the regression models were significant for Romantic attachment, R =.506, R^2 =.256, $F(3, 195) = 22.389$, p <.001, Family attachment, R =.483, R^2 =.233, $F(3, 195) = 19.728$, p <.001, and Friend attachment, R =.551, R^2 =.304, $F(3, 195) = 28.338$, p <.001. The predictors proved significant in each model with the standardised coefficients, correlations, and collinearity statistics reported in Tables 3, 4, and 5.

For TOSCA Shame the regression models were significant for Romantic attachment, R =.395, R^2 =.156, $F(3, 195) = 11.990$, p <.001, Family attachment, R =.423, R^2 =.179, $F(3, 195) = 14.158$, p <.001, and Friend attachment, R =.463, R^2 =.214, $F(3, 195) = 17.727$, p <.001. The predictors proved significant in each model except Avoidant which was not significant for the Friend attachment scale, β =.142, p =.075. The standardised coefficients, correlations, and collinearity statistics are reported in Tables 6, 7, 8.

Regression to Find the Best Predictive Model for Shame

Where the previous regression analyses explored the relationship between attachment styles and shame this series of regressions will assess the relationship among the predictor variables across attachment styles when predicting shame. Particular emphasis will be placed on examining

tolerance levels of the predictors. Specifically, tolerance is the correlation between one predictor and all other predictors. It is defined mathematically as $(1-R_X^2)$, where R_X^2 is the squared multiple correlation predicting X from the other predictors (Howell, 2002). Tolerance indicates the degree of overlap among predictors and hence the stability of the model.

For each dependent measure, two regression analyses were preformed, one for each axis of the attachment scale with the types of attachment serving as predictor variables.

With Internalised Shame as the dependent variable the regression models were significant for the Avoidant axis, R =.534, R^2 =.285, $F(4, 194)$ = 19.348, p <.001, and Ambivalent axis, R =.636, R^2 =.405, $F(4, 194)$ = 33.016, p <.001. The predictors proved significant in each model with the standardised coefficients, correlations, and collinearity statistics reported in Tables 9 and 10.

For TOSCA Shame the regression models were significant for the Avoidant axis, R =.459, R^2 =.210, $F(4, 194)$ = 12.930, p <.001, and Ambivalent axis, R =.490, R^2 =.240, $F(4, 194)$ = 15.295, p <.001. The predictors proved significant in each model except Romantic for the Ambivalent axis, β =.097, p <.155. The standardised coefficients, correlations, and collinearity statistics are reported in Tables 11 and 12.

The tolerance levels ranged from.776–.952 for the Avoidant models and from.801–.966 for the Ambivalent models, indicating that the predictor variables are relatively independent.

Family Environment Variables as Predictors of ISS

Multiple regression analyses were employed to test the predictive value of the Family Environment Scale for shame. With regard to Internalised Shame, though the model was significant, R =.292, R^2 =.085,

$F(6, 192) = 2.987$, $p < .01$, neither the Family Environment Scale's five variables nor Gender were significant predictors.

Family Environment Variables as Predictors of TS

Similar results were found for the prediction of TOSCA Shame. This model was also statistically significant, $R = .348$, $R^2 = .121$, $F(6, 192) = 4.410$, $p < .001$. The Family Environment Scale's variables were not significant predictors. However, consistent with previous analyses, Gender was significantly correlated with TOSCA Shame, $\beta = .295$, $p < .001$. Detailed results of the multiple regression analyses are presented in Tables 13 and 14. No further analyses investigating the Family Environment Scale and shame were conducted.

Interpretation of the results

ISS and TOSCA

Pearson correlations revealed that TOSCA shame correlated significantly with ISS. ISS and TOSCA shame results indicate that they are both measures of shame, but TOSCA shame has a measure of overlap with TOSCA guilt, that is not shared with ISS.

Attachment and type of relationship

Individuals in this study were less avoidant in their family relationships, more avoidant in their friendships, and finally most avoidant in their romantic relationships. A similar pattern emerged for ambivalence dimensions, with less ambivalence noted for family attachments, more in

friendships, and most ambivalence in romantic relationships. For avoidant dimensions, of the three attachment types, their was a major effect of gender. Males were more avoidant in their family and friendships than females. However an interaction between males and females and romantic attachments was observed. Both males and females were most avoidant in their romantic relationships.

For the ambivalence dimensions, there was a main effect for gender, and for attachment types. Males had higher levels of ambivalence but both males and females exhibited the highest ambivalence in their romantic relationships, then in their family and finally least in their friendships. With regard to ambivalence no interaction effects between gender and attachment were found.

Attachment and shame

The regression analysis used to explore attachment as predictors of internalised shame revealed that for romantic attachments, avoidance, ambivalence and gender were significant predictors. Identical patterns were reported in family and friendship attachments. Insecurity, ambivalence and gender were all significant predictors of internalised shame.

The model indicated that all attachment types for avoidant dimensions contributed 28% of variance, and for ambivalence 40 % of variance. Thus ambivalence was a better predictor than avoidance. In TOSCA shame, all attachment styles and types were significant predictors,

but they accounted for less of the variance. Avoidance accounted for 21 %, whilst ambivalence accounted for 24 % of the ambivalence.

The three unique attachment styles all contribute information independently of each other towards a prediction of internalised and TOSCA shame. Thus to evaluate an individual's shame it is necessary to inquire about all attachment relationships. Both friendship and romantic ambivalence contributed to more of the variance of the model of internalised shame than family ambivalence. For avoidant styles, all three types of attachment contribute evenly to the prediction of Internalised shame.

The FES

With regards to the FES None of the five subscales were significant predictors of Internalised or TOSCA shame.

Sex and gender

Sex by itself is not a significant predictor of internalised shame, but when paired with attachment style, it became a significant predictor. When attachment is also considered, females have a higher score of ISS than males. The relationship between ISS and gender seems to be moderated by attachment style.

Interviews

"On more than one occasion I have been ready to abandon my whole life for love. To alter everything that makes sense to me and to move into a different world where the only known will be the beloved. Such a sacrifice must be the result of love .....Or is it that the life was already worn out? I had finished with that life perhaps, and could not admit it, being stubborn and afraid, or perhaps did not know it, habit being a great binder."

Jeanette Winterson

Sexing the cherry

The intention of the interviews was to explore issues revolving around shame's contribution to the regulation of social distance as these might differ between individuals identified as "high" and "low" shame on the "Internalised Shame Scale".

During the analysis a wide range of identified themes emerged which highlighted the multi-dimensional nature of the participants' experience of their relationships with others. The following analysis will be divided into four themes related to social distance that were identified during analysis of the 16 interviews. These themes are primarily related to individuals' insight into the regulation of social distance and other identified themes that contribute to understanding exploring and elaborating the theory. These are "engulfment", "isolation", "social distance", "self vulnerabilities", "insight into social regulation" and "the presence or absence of parental love and support" concludes the analysis.

The analysis began with identifying numerous sub themes. These were then clustered into appropriate main themes and the data was

interrogated from this perspective. Retzinger's previously defined engulfment and isolation terms throughout the analysis were clearly evident in the interview narratives and fitted well as main themes. Thus the sub themes of "a weakening of self in a relationship", "emotionally needy", "themes of rejection" and "insecurity" were clustered under the umbrella of engulfment as associated themes. Both low and high shame individuals reported similarities at times, although the anxiety and intensity of those with high shame were usually greater as will be illustrated.

Engulfment

I have divided this theme into the five subheadings of:engulfment itself, a fear of loneliness, rejection, insecurity, emotional neediness and a sense of self weakening in romantic relationships. Quotations from individuals have been chosen both to illustrate these dimensions, and to present a comparison and contrast across high and low shame individuals as these differ in relation to these themes related to engulfment.

Engulfment

Paul discusses his emotional problems that start with a romantic relationship. *"Whenever I get into close relationships I become manic and unhealthy, a need for emotional stability, I become possessive and jealous."* He describes this need occurring in any relationship. *"I've accepted being involved with people who I wasn't interested in because it was better than nothing."* Paul also feels he pushes partners away because he feels too needy of them. *"When someone comes along I'll smother them and push them away."*

Similarly Emma is completely absorbed in thinking about her partner being unfaithful to her. *"I am always paranoid that they like someone else and are cheating on me. Consequently I need to know where they are all the time. I always imagine that they are up to horrible things with other people. It's totally debilitating for me at times and yet my relationships are much more important than anything else, family, friends, work. Yet I continuously throw myself into relationships and have them as the priority."* Although Emma has insight into how these pervasive thoughts are having a negative impact on her self, she is still in need of such relationships.

Andrew is aware of his fears of loneliness. *"I would like to be comfortable at being alone. I do like to be on my own but I need other people. I'm getting used to being alone but I get that fear of insecurity about that constant abandonment. I would like to have a more unemotive response. It shouldn't be a crisis, a major issue."*

Libby believes she is unable to cheer herself up. *"In terms of when I am upset I find it impossible to make myself better. I need other people to cheer me up. It's quite scary really to think that as a person I am not fully functional."*

Anna conveys her subservience in her relationship and her need for affection. *"In relationships I am the sacrificial lamb, it's give and take and I am always the give. Every now and then I am thrown a bit of affection and I will go panting like a dog after it."*

It appears that Paul, Emma, Libby, Andrew and Anna who are all in the high shame category, refer to high dependency habits. Moreover their statements about romantic relationships are highly emotional, and negative.

Even though Lucy and Gloria are both in the low shame category, they both acknowledge the importance they place on their relationships, although with less associated emotional pain. Lucy finds it hard to do other things that are important to her when she is in a relationship. *"I find it hard. I just want to be with him. Relationships are the best thing in my life, the most important thing. I don't have the motivation for anything else."*

Gloria describes her need for a romantic relationship. *"I have that fear of over confidently thinking that I can be single and independent. I look at my sisters and none of them can either, we are all serial monogamists who really quickly latch on to somebody and have intense intimate relationships."*

Fear of Loneliness

Loneliness seems to be a frequent accompaniment for engulfment. Emma, Paul and Megan, all in the high shame category, make references to feeling bad or depressed when alone.

Emma states *"I can think of nothing worse than being alone, I hate being alone. I'm not good at thinking of things to do by myself. It really gets me in a low mood."*

Similarly Megan says *"If I'm alone I need to go out and if I'm alone and others are out I feel really down about myself."* Later in the interview she repeats her fear of loneliness. *"When I stay home by myself I feel depressed, rejected, helpless and frustrated. I hate being alone in the house."*

Paul is afraid of being lonely and will compensate by accepting less desirable options. *"Loneliness has always been a big thing in my life. I've accepted unacceptable behaviour from others rather than be alone."* Emma

is also afraid of loneliness and will do anything rather than resort to being by herself. *"I am quite unfaithful as well. Don't quite know why that is it's probably because I like to have another trick up my sleeve just in case."*

Rejection

Rejection was common in those individuals who talked of loneliness and who indicated engulfment. Rose and Gloria, although in the low shame category, also refer to rejection.

Gloria is careful when choosing a romantic partner. *"I guess that I am so fearful that I make sure early on that I'm in a stable position."* Rose describes her rejection as a more global feeling. *"I'm always vulnerable to rejection and there is something probably in me that feels a bit alone or without other people."* High shame individuals: Paul, Emma, Megan and Libby all describe instances of specific rejection with higher levels of emotional response.

Paul talks about his fear of meeting romantically eligible women. *"If women are my age or younger and if they are available I am scared shitless of rejection. It's an ongoing theme."*

Emma describes rejection as intolerable. *"I mean the worst possible scenario is someone knowing the real me and then rejecting it."* She ultimately blames herself. *"I really can't handle rejection and over react and just feel a lot of pain about it. Well what kind of a person am I if someone is not interested in me?"*

Megan has feelings of rejection in all her friendship, family and romantic relationships. *"I am quite afraid of rejection; I care what other people think of me. Even if I don't like them I still get hurt if they don't like me. I felt rejected from my family. I didn't speak to them for two years. Even*

now they feel that they have failed as parents. That's why I am still blamed for things. My family will still ring me up and accuse me of stealing things in the house. Romantic relationships are the area I have the most rejection and fear, I'd rather not have them."

Libby attempts to provoke her partners and then ends up feeling rejected. *"I try to push them a bit to see how far they will go if they really like me. I go too far though. I end up hurting myself".*

Insecurity

Many of the interviewees alluded to references of insecurity. The high shame individuals Emma, Paul, Libby, Megan, Mark, Andrew, and Anna all talk about their feelings of self failure.

Paul believes there is something inherently wrong with him: *"I have a fundamental deep seated problem with myself. A very deep seated, unexplainable thing there is something fundamentally wrong with me. I think I feel quite unlovable. It is almost like I have to be a hell of a lot more than other people just to be accepted."* He also blames himself when others don't measure up to his expectations. *"I feel confusion. People can be saying lets do this and never backing it up. It is all ammunition to reaffirm attitudes about myself."* In a similar vein Andrew also believes it is because of him: *"I was wrong to expect somebody to remember things for a couple of days and for me to take their words seriously. I should have known better than to believe in the power of language. I am scared of people letting me down and I blame myself."*

Emma talks about how fragile her confidence feels at times. *"I suppose I am constantly comparing myself to people and feeling down about*

myself. Sometimes I feel really confident and that nothing can shake me and then boof I fall apart at the slightest failure on my behalf."

Libby, Anna, Emma and Megan all make references to their insecurities concerning their physical appearance. Megan says *"I have low self esteem and feel that I am ugly."* Libby doubts herself. *"With boys I always worry if I am pretty enough to be with them or even to walk beside them."* Anna believes she is undesirable. *"Physically I didn't find myself attractive at all. I didn't have boyfriends when every one else did".* Emma says *"I do wish I was thinner and more attractive. That seems to be quite important to me. I get quite upset when there is someone around who is attractive. I suppose I am too conscious about that."*

Mark feels worried about some of his friendships. *"Sometimes I feel bad that I am the one carrying the friendship. I ring and say why haven't you rung me?"* Megan is relatively insecure about her romantic relationships. *"I don't think I'm lovable romantically. I don't believe people really like me. I don't know what they are thinking."*

Ollie, Lucy, Dave and Rose all referred to their insecurities even though they are in the low shame group.

Ollie describes how he feels uncomfortable in certain situations *"Then I'll go to somewhere else and think oh my god I can't even talk and I might feel intimidated by some people but I am also finding that to be less often."*

When talking about his romantic relationships Dave can feel insecure. *"We can spend lots of time together. I worry that they don't like me as much as I like them. I don't want to go there at all. I have a potential to lose a grip on reality and become quite demanding and am always thinking about them."*

Lucy describes her insecurities after her romantic relationships have ended. *"I definitely feel secure in them at the time but when they end I feel quite insecure. The faith I had in them has gone."*

Rose again reveals her more global insecurity. *"I quite often get the feeling that something is missing. I suspect I could see it as missing someone else. I could never find the right person. The problem is in me."*

Emotional neediness

Many of the high shame individuals indicated a high emotional need for others, particularly with romantic partners. Emma describes herself as emotionally dependent. *"I am a very needy person, I need people around me a lot of the time and I suppose you could call it social but I think it stems from something more sinister. I have a high degree of emotional dependence on people. In terms of my boyfriends I have always needed them more than I have loved them."* Anna feels she pushed her partner away. *"I am full on and very loving I think that might throw people off. The harder he fought me the more I loved. He had no respect for me because I had none for myself."* Paul also finds it difficult not to be needy. *"I have a clingy almost desperate mood with time spent around other people. When I am around other people I am quite up, quite excitable. When I am by myself I feel quite low."*

Andrew also acknowledges that to escape from loneliness he is dependent upon others. *"I don't want my relationships with people to be an escape from loneliness. To avoid those down spirals I have to go and see someone."*

Dave is unusual in this regard as he appears as quite an isolated individual and quite detached. Although in the low shame group he

describes himself when in a romantic relationship as *"My detachment detached itself, I feel involved in quite a reckless way, like I am out of control and uncritical."*

Sense of self weakening with or without romantic relationships

Emma, Gloria, Lucy, Anna, Paul and Libby all discuss their issues around their relative needs in romantic relationships. Interestingly Gloria and Emma feel weak without romantic relationships while Anna, Paul and again Emma seem weaker when in a relationship.

Emma reveals *"If my relationship falls apart I think I am nothing, I can't function properly, can't focus on anything else basically I'm a mess, I suppose I don't feel whole until I get positive gratification from others who I respect and admire. I guess I always think that I am the problem and not the other which I realise is quite irrational."* Gloria expresses a similar view. *"I realised that I had this ideal about a relationship with one particular person in your life being the most important thing and that if you didn't have that or if it wasn't going well then I'd just fall apart at the seams. I still think I need a security of a relationship. But I do think that I am most happy and have higher self esteem and generally feel cooler about life when I am in a relationship and it's working well."*

By contrast Anna feels that she lost who she was in a relationship. *"I was so busy thinking what I thought he wanted me to be, that I forgot who I was, always the giver, he dominated me sexually when and how. I seemed unable to assert myself in that role."* Emma, although insisting upon a relationship holding her together, then speaks about being less of a person in comparison with her friends: *"I always feel threatened with my friends and*

think that they are better than I am. I also feel that I get boring reasonably quickly, so my partner must find my friends much more interesting than me."

Lucy feels that she loses her motivation and her personal goals when in a relationship. *"In terms of time I am not very good at staying on track with my own stuff. My art suffers and for a while there last year my art really ceased for me."*

Paul finds he becomes unattractive and has bad habits when he develops a relationship with someone. *"Whenever I got into close relationships, I became manic and unhealthy with a need for emotional stability and affection."*

Isolation

The second theme that was identified in the interviews was isolation, the flip side of engulfment. Associated themes that emerged within this category were self sufficiency, detachment, fear of dependency and desirous of change.

Isolation

Isolationist tendencies appeared in both high and low shame individuals, predominantly in males.

Dave reveals himself thus *"I feel that I can sustain myself without anybody else."* With regard to his friendships he believes *"I have a degree of detachment with my friendships. I could just walk away from them at any minute. I would just look to the future and see where I was going. People are perhaps expendable."*

Similarly Jack comments on his romantic partners. *"I never want to spend all my time with them, even like a weekend. I need space and will end up wanting space."* Ollie, another low shame individual, talks about his need for independence and finding independent partners. *"I want to find someone like me who is very independent. I often find people get too clingy and want to see me all the time. I need my own space and I need someone who is successful and confident being by themselves. Anyway I'm fine by myself until that happens."*

John in the high shame category speaks of his anxiety about relationships. *"Well things make me anxious and I have a general fear of people, of shyness and an inability to let people in. I hate when people are dependent on me and I am never reciprocal. I have to spend a lot of time on my own."*

Andrew, also in the high shame category, reveals his preference at being isolated from others, although he has a fear of loneliness and engulfment. *"Romantic relationships are always troublesome. They put me on edge. Not happy being in them. They expose me to so much potential abandonment. I think largely my relationships pre–empts an end to them. I have an incredible fear of an end to them. I feel so bad about having someone else around. When they are around too much It's too close and I don't like it, it didn't feel good. I would always tend to shut up shop that's always how it worked."* Mark in the high shame category has had few relationships. His only experience was not that pleasing. *"I tried the dependency thing and it's not what I want. If I am to give up my independence they would have to be someone pretty amazing."*

Vera who is in the low shame category expresses her need to be by herself. *"I am not comfortable seeing someone all the time, I don't like people getting too close to me."*

The only high shame female who has isolation tendencies is Megan. *"I hate being suffocated and feel like that immediately. People care for me but I hate it, when I am not in a relationship I see how I could like it, I want it but I don't. I get scared that I think I'm romantic so I push them away."*

Self sufficiency

Individuals who indicated isolationist tendencies also seemed to value self sufficiency. In both high and low shame individuals there appeared to be less emotional reaction compared with the engulfed category.

Jack says, *"Self preservation, it keeps me happy. I never totally live for someone else. I'm happier in my own space than in someone else's."*

Dave's comments are similarly self confident. *"I really don't want to hurt and I try not to get close to them so I can't possibly hurt them. I get over people hurting me pretty quickly, it only makes me stronger. I definitely need my own space, always need the option of being by myself."*

Ollie admits destroying friendships when involved in a personnel project. *"When I am working on something I get so self centred and focused on it that I start brooding. I often find I don't actively want to destroy or disrupt my friendships or cause some kind of rift. I tend to get so focused on something that everyone else around me pisses me off, so I think god I can't make eye contact with this person. It's not very nice to be around."*

Vera in the low shame category talks about being self sufficient with her emotions. *"I am quite closed off to my friends and romantic partners. I didn't express much as a kid and that's carried on."*

On a similar note John emphasises his need for time alone. *"I like time on my own I don't let, I don't allow people to help me I don't let people back in."*

Finally Jack tries to rationalise why he has unsuccessful relationships. *"I try very hard not to beat myself up over it or convey a sense of urgency over my inability to go beyond the two year mark. This would be an unhealthy response, and I do every thing I can not to think like that."*

Detachment.

References of detachment predominate in individuals who scored high on shame assessment. The degree of detachment invoked more anxiety for individuals such as John and Megan who had a high score on the ISS.

John feels anxious when he is in a romantic relationship. *"I don't get anxious by myself and sometimes I want to feel just comfortable, so that's why I like time on my own."*

Megan describes her anxiety over romantic relationships. *"I'd rather not have them, at the time I have a big fear of commitment but at the same time I want it. I feel rejection, so I jump in and reject them first and I don't know why."*

Dave similarly acknowledges his detachment towards others. *"I have a degree of detachment with my friendships. I could just walk away from anything at any moment... people are perhaps expendable."*

Dave acknowledges his detachment and questions it at the same time. *"I feel detached, don't know how neurotic it is don't know if I am fooling myself. I feel that I can sustain myself without anyone else."*

Rose discusses her attempt at detachment in romantic relationships. *"In terms of relationships what I fall back on is that I try to withdraw and try to be strong."*

Fear of dependency.

A third theme associated with isolation is a "fear of dependency" that some interviewees expressed. Thus Dave describes *"I don't want to depend on them too much because in the past I have been let down."*

Andrew acknowledges his anxiety at being close to someone. *"I get a great deal of discomfort. The moment someone gets inside, they hold such a powerful position. Having a girlfriend almost topples me."*

Similarly John says *"I hate it when people are dependent on me and I can never be reciprocal. To me it's a sign that it's not right. I have an inability to commit."*

Megan outwardly acknowledges her fear of dependency. *"I really don't like depending on people. I have been someone who everyone expects to fail; I want to prove people wrong, being dependent on someone makes me feel weak."*

All individuals who invoke a fear of dependency were in the high shame category, except for Dave who scored in the low category on the ISS.

Desirous of change

Interviewees frequently made reference to wanting to change aspects of themselves or change their location and environment. Dave discusses his constant desire to be different. *"I want to be able to change as quickly as*

possible. I don't want to start to take things for granted, rest on assumptions. I want to be questioning everything constantly even myself."

Rose says *"I started to explore, experimenting with personas, not very comfortable with myself."*

Megan says *"My happiness always seems quite temporary due to the fact that I am transient. I don't like staying in one place for too long."*

Libby additionally says she likes to change cities a lot. *"I was 18 I felt like it was time to change again, to move so I came to Christchurch."*

Andrew describes how he has changed from what he used to be like. *"I have changed, perhaps back then I had more congruence within myself. Now I have incongruencies. It splits – not all of me going in the same way, paradoxes."*

There are no distinctions between individuals in the high or low shame groups nor does it appear that gender plays a role.

Neither Engulfed nor Isolated

Throughout the analysis two individuals appeared to not fit adequately into the engulfed or isolated categories these were Brian and Lucy both low shame individuals who seemed to be content with their social distance. Brian explains *"I think I have found my ideal person in terms of the fact that we are both independent which is great. I don't worry about not seeing enough of her."* Lucy alternatively speaks about her willingness for romantic relationships and her lack of insecurity about them *"I tend to throw myself into them. I am cautious perhaps for the first two weeks and then wham I fall in love easily. I definitely feel secure in them at the time."* Lucy also describes her confusion over people, who are not so willing. *"I*

don't control my feelings toward someone, if I want something I can't say no and it's really hard when you meet someone who can say "no". Maybe we are just not matched."

Self vulnerabilities

An important theme identified was that of self vulnerabilities: individuals who had particular circumstances and protective mechanisms likely to impact upon shame and therefore social distance. Sub- themes included mental illness, abuse and feeling emotionally stunted.

Mental Illness

Six of the eight high shame individuals had been clinically diagnosed with a mental illness.

Additionally Gloria, who is in the low shame category, has been diagnosed with depression. Gloria describes this time in her life. *"I just went into a large depression and suddenly life was just the opposite of what it had been and I wasn't really capable of anything. I didn't feel like I was a success and I didn't feel like any of my relationships of any kind were any good."*

Paul describes his ideal self. *"I would like to be a stable Paul, who hasn't got the extent of mental illness that I have got, nor the addictive personality."*

Peter and Megan talk about having to deal with their emotional swings. *"I'm emotionally unstable. I feel like I live on an emotional roller coaster, it's ridiculously up and down a lot of the time."*

"Sometimes I feel really hopeless – nothing is ever going to change – mood swings."

John talks about his social anxiety. *"Social situations are difficult for me. I get anxiety, I never enjoy going out with a large group of people and mingling."*

Libby and Anna have both been diagnosed with bulimia. Libby states *"In the second year of varsity I became bulimic, but I was very unsure whether I had a problem I would vary from throwing up once a day sometimes once every two days to two times sometimes seven."*

For Anna *"I was 15 a wand fell on me and I was bulimic."*

Both tried substance abuse as escapism. Libby describes *"I went a bit crazy and started to smoke a lot of pot and then I started to have these panic attacks ...."* Whilst Anna says *"In my second year of varsity got into alcohol and drugs in a big way and mentally abused myself most days."*

Abuse

Three out of the eight individuals in the high shame category revealed instances of abuse during their life.

Paul refers to being sexually abused as a child. *"Plus with men there is a sexual abuse issue. I was abused by a man as a kid, but it has probably caused me more grief with women. I do find that I get into emotional things with women, sexually I'm not very confident."*

Libby describes her father as verbally abusive. *"He was under a lot of stress and when I would come home from school everyday he would sit me down and rant at me that I was ignorant, arrogant and a fat bitch."*

For Anna her romantic partner was physically and mentally abusive. *"My boyfriend mentally abused me most days. I don't know why I stayed,*

but I did and he started getting physical and I hated myself even more. I don't know how I got to the stage in an abusive, violent relationship. I woke up one day and there it was."

Emotionally stunted

Many interviewees talked about their inadequacies with regards to being emotionally expressive and being unable to be quite open about what they are feeling.

Rose says *"This problem has definitely crossed over to my inability to express how I feel to others."* Vera believes *"I didn't open to anyone and didn't express my feelings."* Megan feels very similar, *"I can't express emotions freely. Sometimes I want to but I don't know how to do it."*

Paul feels like he is under-developed with regards to his emotions *"I am very emotionally stunted."* Andrew believes he is similar to his father. *"Dad's not very expressive emotionally, there is a bit of a sense of aloneness as well. I prefer to be alone and that's sort of carried on."*

Dave feels he can control his feelings *"I don't let myself fall in love easily, it's like my reason controls my emotion."*

Whilst Gloria feels that she can't freely express her emotions. *"I feel flawed about my emotional expression; have done for a long time. I feel that I haven't been expressive enough, communicative enough."*

Insight into Social Distance

Throughout the interviews, references were made to individuals' insights into their relationships. Of interest were many interviewees openly expressing their need to be viewed in a positive light. Feelings of inferiority

were also expressed. Individuals often questioned how others felt about them and many felt insecure in social circumstances.

Thus Andrew feels awkward even following a positive interaction with someone. *"I'm always running constant evaluations of where I stand. When clicking quite well, sooner or later a bell rings. Alright you gotta get going because you're slightly embarrassed you've connected on some level."*

Emma is also concerned with what people think of her. *"I definitely monitor situations pretty well and can tell if people are enjoying my company or not. In fact I think I am a little sensitive about it."*

Similarly Mark questions other people's opinions of him. *"I worry what people think of me, I wonder what's going inside their head and I analyse my friendships. You can never quite know what people think of you. Sometimes I just feel like saying look what do you actually think of me? I want to get inside their head."*

Gloria feels that she is too distant when she meets others and wishes she could be more relaxed. *"I think it's that thing when you're in a social situation and you don't feel totally confident. Some people overcome that by being welcoming and giving and saying nice things to people. Other people compensate by kind of closing off kind of being defensive and I have that way of being defensive and that's a pain because I really would like not to."*

Individuals in this study also revealed insights into their relative positions of distance from others. Rose says *"In terms of relationships what I fall back on is that I try to withdraw and try to be strong. I feel a sort of security. I take the soft option, safe in a way, but not in the way that's worth it. In terms of togetherness and separateness I'm quite bad I tend to go to extremes."*

Paul thinks he drives people away because he is too clingy. *"People have to prove beyond a shadow of a doubt that they like me. I have unfair expectations on them to the point people go out of their way for me. I have lost friendships. I don't want to get too close to people so I continue to push them away until it becomes too much for them."*

Gloria admits to requiring others for her to feel she has good friendships. *"I feel that I guess there's a stage in a friendship where you've had that feedback enough times and you think ok that's definite but with a lot people I'm never quite sure and I need constant feedback / reinforcement all the time."*

Dave talks about his experimentation with isolation *"I tried living by myself once and started to get quite tired of that, I wasn't able to take it to the limit or any limit, but I did get quite lonely, didn't get the chance to see how far I could go. I felt isolated and did get lonely, I definitely need other people around me, but I'm not sure to what extent."*

Gloria also tried to be more independent, although the experimentation failed.

"So I was trying to rebel against that basically, I decided OK I'm just coming out of this long term serious relationship. So I'm gonna try and not do that again. I'm gonna try and not place too much importance on those relationships. I overestimated my ability to change and my ability to control my own emotional state. I put myself in these bad situations again and again where I was saying to myself this isn't important to you and at the same time it was important to me and I was just getting burnt."

Rose talks about trying to change how she perceives relationships *"I have made a conscious effort to be more balanced, to try and not ground myself in somebody else. You can't rely on one person to fulfil all your*

needs, its healthy if you spend time apart from them. In terms of boundaries I feel sometimes that they're not as clean as I would like, I surprise myself when I am too needy. Like when I need to call someone up all the time. I get very nervous and scared. I think it's just based on that dynamic, it doesn't make me feel very good."

Finally some interviewees expressed an ability to change themselves, depending upon whom they were with. This ability was to adapt, primarily to please others. Often they did not quite feel 'whole' without others around them.

Paul illustrates this point when he says *"I've spent an inordinate amount of time watching others and trying to work out what to do. I didn't have a separate identity. Not really a self as a whole and I got pretty good at it for a long time."* Paul also believes his *"personality changes a lot from person to person."*

Emma also feels she is a people pleaser, adapting her personality so that others will like her. She acknowledges that this is in some way a protection against rejection. *"I suppose that's why I try to please everyone, and why I try to change my persona depending upon who I am with. I probably can't really pin down the essential me, I am flexible depending upon what sort of context I am in. I don't think I could handle it if someone I admired and really liked rejected me because of who I am."*

Libby also talks about her ability to adapt to others. *"Generally speaking I'm me if I need to adapt to fit in better I can adjust myself, how to talk, and what subject matters to bring up, fairly good at picking up on various people."*

Megan is also aware of her adaptability, due to her fear of rejection. *"I am quite afraid of rejection and I think I am good at monitoring myself. I*

can tell if someone doesn't want to be my friend, I get annoyed with friends who withdraw. It annoys me and I feel hurt but I do back off. I care what other people think of me even if I don't like them and I still get hurt if they don't like me."

Ollie is always thinking ahead trying to appease the people that he socialises with: *"I constantly monitor my interactions with people and also quite strategically. If I want to talk about something I constantly think about how I am going to bring it up and in what ways. I then figure out how this person is not going to get defensive."*

Parental love and support

There were quite marked differences between those interviewees who described their family environment, specifically their parental love and support as adequate, and those who felt unloved by one or both parents.

All individuals in the low shame category indicated a level of satisfaction of the love and support they received from their parents. Brain and Jack had similar experiences respectfully with their families. *"I felt really loved and supported by my mum and dad"; "felt absolutely loved by my mum and dad they were always there."*

Lucy and Rose also felt supported *"My parents have always been really supportive of me, very loving towards me and proud of anything that I do"; "I think I felt loved"*. Gloria talks about her mother being extremely loving and putting all her time and energy into the family. *"My mother was really into us being a family and raising us well, she was amazing and did special things just as far as I can think all the things that mothers ought to do."*

Similarly Ollie talks about his close relationship with his mother. *"My relationship with my mother makes me feel very much who I am,*

always having my mum to talk to. Mum and dad are very loving towards me and my sisters."

Vera talks about her family life as being very stable. *"Yeah I had a very secure attachment, dad was really good to me in particular and mum was really good to me, so yes stable."*

Dave also feels he obtained support and love from his family. *"I felt quite loved and supported in my family. I knew when things got serious that they would be there."*

Andrew was the only person in the high shame category who received love and support from his family, although he admits to his lack of expression. *"I love them and vice versa, but we are not touchy feely in those regards, I do like to keep a closed shop, so I don't let them in on things."*

Absence of parental love and support

With the exception of Andrew, all high shame individuals refer to an absence of parental love at some stage in their development.

Megan developed an emotional rift with her mother. *"My mother was emotionally distant; Dad was never around, so I was brought up to be very independent."* She goes on to reveal her views of why she felt an absence of love. *"I think my family expect that I will fail. I guess they had higher expectations of what they thought I was going to achieve in my life. They never taught us how to express love."*

Mark also gives an explanation of why he feels unloved by his parents *"Well my dad's not very happy and my mum is a very selfish person and you don't get a lot of love from selfish people. I feel like a punching bag. I had a lot of responsibility and roles were reversed. It should never have happened."*

Libby although loved by her mother explains that she was unsure about her father's love towards her. *"I always knew mum loved me, but dad I'm not so sure about. He was domineering, demanded respect and was a real wanker to me."*

Similarly Anna talks about her parents' failings. *"My mum is very weak and dad is dominant. When I was in Nepal my parents wrote to me and said how I ruined their life. Mum was on Prozac and how disappointed they were in me."*

Anna doubts whether her parents' love is unconditional. *"They always said they loved me. I didn't always believe them, they used to say we love you we just don't like you."*

Emma talks about being deprived of love and emotional support. *"I was a very lonely isolated child. I was emotionally deprived of my mother and I felt starved and I really wanted love and security. I don't know I definitely got screwed up over it."*

Paul feels his mother never loved him. *"Dad was very busy, mum was career orientated, and mum didn't want another child, so I spent a lot of time alone as a child. I don't feel loved by my mother, there's a fair amount of resentment and anger around it, and I've been let down a lot."*

John doesn't mention feeling unloved, but he received very little emotional support from his father with whom he lived during his adolescence. *"Although there was no outward conflict the whole family was pretty unhappy", so anyway for about four years I was parentless, dad went up to work in Wellington so I lived by myself."*

Chapter four: Discussion

He'd spoken aloud. The small spirit of the place continued to mock him from its bastion under the path. He knew, without the need of words to describe it, that the whole place, trim weed less barren, might have been just the mirror of his own personality, the pattern of a temperament from which some essential secret had been withheld. The wilting green was evidence enough; and he knew from experience how painful it was to him to plant anything that varied even by an inch from the lines he set out.

Maurice Duggan

From "The departure"

The chapter will discuss the main findings of the survey and the interviews. Limitations and methodological problems of both the qualitative and the quantitative sections will be assessed, future research suggested and finally the entire study's implications.

Discussion of Quantitative findings:

Hypotheses restated

It was hypothesised that Attachment dimensions will modify shame. Those individuals who are high on avoidance, and/or insecurity dimensions will exhibit higher levels of internalised shame and shame proneness. Individuals who have high security, and/or low ambivalence, will have low internalised shame, and low shame proneness.

Family environment will contribute to shame proneness and internalised shame. Individuals whose family environment have high levels of conflict, control, and low levels of expressiveness, cohesion and independence will have higher shame scores on both the internalised shame and shame proneness scales.

It is hypothesised that there will be sex differences amongst the quantitative data , where females, based on previous research, will exhibit higher levels of internalised shame and shame proneness.

Correlation between TOSCA shame /guilt and ISS

Pearson correlations revealed that TOSCA shame correlated significantly with ISS. TOSCA guilt and ISS were not significantly correlated. This implies that TOSCA shame shares a relationship with both ISS and TOSCA guilt. The ISS, it could be argued, is a more pure measure of shame because it has no association with situational guilt, whereas TOSCA shame does. ISS and TOSCA shame results indicate that they are both measures of shame, but TOSCA shame has a measure of overlap with TOSCA guilt, that is not shared with ISS. TOSCA shame and guilt are situation based, thus measuring an individuals' tendency to experience shame rather than guilt in certain negative situations. ISS is to do with individuals' global self- evaluations. Moreover internalised shame might be seen as pervasive and impacting on many social situations. In essence shame may become more than just an affect and may intrude on one's interpretation about the self in many situations.

The varied results of the TOSCA and ISS highlight the methodological problems when measuring shame. Although there was a moderate correlation, which validates both scales, it seems that shame has many variations. As outlined in the introduction shame proneness is

different from being ashamed and different again from having a sense of shame. It is important in conducting research into shame, that one delineates clearly, the types and underlining definitions of shame. While the two methods clearly share some common variance, the measurement approach makes a significant difference when studying the relationship of shame and attachments. Shame emotions that become implicated in relationship problems, it could be argued, are the product of many shame incidents experienced over time and internalised as an aspect of the self concept (Cook, 1996).

Differences between types of attachments: friends, family, romantic

Individuals in this study were less avoidant in their family relationships, more avoidant in their friendships, and finally most avoidant in their romantic relationships. A similar pattern emerged for ambivalence dimensions, with less ambivalence noted for family attachments, more in friendships, and most ambivalence in romantic relationships. It is apt to mention that romantic relationships are the most dynamic, and changeable of the attachments. I would surmise that romantic relationships are accompanied by the highest emotional intensity. Romantic relationships also reflect the operation of a sexual/reproductive system. The sexual component of these attachments may also help advance the attachment component by providing consistent motivation for interaction (Allen & Land 2000). It also seems likely that prior attachment experiences and current patterns of approach to attachment thoughts and feelings will in turn shape the nature or these developing romantic relationships (Hazen and Shaver, 1994). By late adolescence, long-term relationships can be formed in which peers and loved ones indeed serve as attachment figures to one another. This transfer

also involves a transformation from hierarchical attachment relationships (that one receives from a caregiver) to peer attachments in which one both receives and offers care and support (Allen & Land 2000).

For avoidant dimensions, of the three attachment types, there was a major effect of gender. Males were more avoidant in their family and friendships than females. However an interaction between males and females and romantic attachments was observed. Both males and females were most avoidant in their romantic relationships.

Thus for the ambivalence dimensions, there was a main effect for gender, and for attachment types. Males had higher levels of ambivalence but both males and females exhibited the highest ambivalence in their romantic relationships, then in their family and finally least in their friendships. With regard to ambivalence no interaction effects between gender and attachment were found. One interpretation of these results could be the young age of these participants, some who may never have been involved in a romantic relationship or one of great length or intimacy. Other studies of romantic relationships involving university students in their late teens early twenties discuss the importance of stability, length and intimacy in these relationships for them to be of significance to the results (Fletcher et al.,1999).

Main findings for attachment types as predictors for Internalised shame

The regression analysis used to explore attachment as predictors of internalised shame revealed that for romantic attachments, avoidance, ambivalence and gender were significant predictors. Identical patterns were

reported in family and friendship attachments. Insecurity, ambivalence and gender were all significant predictors of internalised shame.

This provides evidence that all three attachments styles have an impact on an individual's shame. Thus close attachment relationships that have high levels of avoidance, or high levels of ambivalence are partial predictors of an individuals internalised shame levels. Individuals who have high internalised shame are likely to have relationships with their families, friends and romantic partners that are high in avoidance or high in ambivalence. This supports the hypothesis that attachment predicts levels of ISS.

What is interesting is that for the ambivalence dimension, romantic and friendship attachments were given greater beta weight than family ambivalence as predictors for internalised shame. This is reversed for family, where avoidance is given more beta weight as a predictor. Ambivalence plays a larger part in predicting the ISS score in friendships and romantic relationships; alternatively avoidance is contributing more to the ISS score in family attachments.

With regard to Attachment type's, avoidant or ambivalent scores across all three relationships were good predictors for internalised shame. Given the three attachment styles of an individual and additionally gender, one can predict the ISS remarkably well. The predictive value for TOSCA shame is also reasonably good. The model indicated that all attachment types for avoidant dimensions contributed 28% of variance, and for ambivalence 40 % of variance. Thus ambivalence was a better predictor than avoidance. In TOSCA shame, all attachment styles and types were significant predictors, but they accounted for less of the variance. Avoidance accounted for 21 %, whilst ambivalence accounted for 24 % of

the ambivalence. This implies that attachment styles are better predictors of ISS. This may relate to the type of shame being measured: global self evaluations versus shame proneness as measured in the TOSCA.

The three unique attachment styles all contribute information independently of each other towards a prediction of internalised and TOSCA shame. Thus to evaluate an individual's shame it is necessary to inquire about all attachment relationships. Both friendship and romantic ambivalence contributed to more of the variance of the model of internalised shame than family ambivalence. For avoidant styles, all three types of attachment contribute evenly to the prediction of Internalised shame.

This suggests that friendship and romantic ambivalence are of higher importance than avoidance types or family ambivalence in predicting internalised shame. It is important that avoidant individuals tend to inhibit their emotions. Work by Dozier and Kobak (1992) suggest that avoidant individuals have a repressive coping style characterised by the denial of negative emotions and a tendency not to acknowledge negative affect. This would certainly contribute to the fact that avoidant levels although similar across all relationship types contribute less as predictors of internalised shame than ambivalence. Ambivalent individuals are reported to display higher levels of anxiety about their relationships, than either avoidant or secure individuals. It is possible that their high level of anxiety may lead to dependant relationships that are unsuccessful in actually alleviating relationship anxiety. According to shame theory, this would also explain ambivalent individual's high levels of overt shame particularly if ambivalent individuals are enmeshed in their relationships and these relationships contribute to self reported anxiety. Overt shame, that is not acknowledged, may also contribute to anxiety, which could in turn contribute to more

shame and form a shame–anxiety spiral. What is also evident is that it appears that both types of insecure attachment types appear to have different means of regulating negative emotion (Bowlby, 1980). One interpretation could be, concerning shame, that avoidant individuals are more likely to experience by-passed shame. Alternatively, ambivalent individuals are more likely to experience overt unacknowledged shame. Both types of shame are likely to lead to unsatisfactory relationships.

It is also important to add, that throughout early development, parents play a pivotal role in developing internal working models of self and other. Throughout early adulthood parents play less of a role as children become more independent. It could be argued that individuals place more importance on their newly developing friendships and their romantic relationships. As individuals become more attached to romantic partners it is likely that their family's importance with regards to emotional availability and responsiveness diminish and more emphasis is placed on their romantic partners and friendships.

This would also be consistent with the insignificant findings of the FES. None of the five subscales were significant predictors of Internalised or TOSCA shame. Perhaps it is simply the wrong developmental period in which to be investigating the impact of family environment. Family environment would be pivotal during infancy and childhood in predicting the regulation of negative emotion, but by early adulthood the emphasis seems to be placed on peers and romantic relationships.

Sex by itself is not a significant predictor of internalised shame, but when paired with attachment style, it became a significant predictor. When attachment is also considered, females have a higher score of ISS than

males. The relationship between ISS and gender seems to be moderated by attachment style.

Sex and its influence in shame...

Previous research has indicated that females score higher on shame and guilt subscales in the TOSCA, than males (Ferguson & Eyre 2000). This study also supported the concept with females scoring higher than males on the TOSCA. There was no significant gender difference for the ISS initially until attachments scales were added. Recently there has been some criticism aimed at the Tosca and other scenario based instruments measuring shame. Ferguson &Eyre (2000) found that the predicated gender differences were most often found in instruments like the TOSCA. Researchers using other methods inconsistently found the expected gender difference. In some cases men even reported more cases of shame than women (Harder 1995). The authors conclude that higher levels of shame proneness in women are actually an artefact, reflecting the more "threatening" nature of the Tosca's situations to women than to men. The socialisation literature emphasises that males and females have very different identity concerns. Ferguson and Eyre suggest that the TOSCA taps into unwanted identities for women rather than for men. The protagonist, in the TOSCA, at times engages in fairly pushy or interpersonally insensitive actions. "The literature generally reveals that peers reject girls for being both relationally and overtly aggressive. Boys actually expect mothers to react more warmly to them when they express anger rather than sadness" (Brody, 1996). Females who act assertively, or insensitively to the rights of others would be negating well engrained expectations about being sensitive. Such forms of behaviour are deemed inappropriate for females and the feminine identity. "If a female subscribes to these expectations, but violates

them for some reason, then we certainly might expect her to respond with shame of greater intensity to these unwanted identities" (Ferguson et al.,2000 pp.141). The authors then rewrote scenario based items that were more likely to tap into identity concerns for males such as the desire to be independent, autonomous, physically strong, and emotionally stoic. The authors found college aged men did report significantly greater shame proneness under these conditions.

Qualitative findings:

The findings from the qualitative analysis are tentative and exploratory. Although there is considerable theory on shame and its influence in relationships, little empirical work has been conducted to investigate its importance in regulating social distance in attachment relationships.

In my introduction I outlined a number of theories related to social bonds and shame. All seem to be variations on a particular theme. In short, shame's importance in regulating distances between the self and other, autonomy versus social, I and we, the self and other (Bowlby 1980), togetherness versus enmeshment, and engulfed or isolated (Retzinger 1998). It is evident that all these terms have similar meanings with most prompted by Helen Block Lewis's (1987) seminal ideas on attachment types and unacknowledged shame. The above terms seem to imply that the ability to regulate acceptable social distance depends on an individual's ability to glide smoothly through the transitions of being together and then apart in the absence of shame.

Of particular note are Emma and Paul from the high shame category whose transcripts contained all of the engulfment sub themes.

Paul and Emma especially illustrate engulfment properties. A sense of over conformity and an excessive concern with what other people think. In this regard Scheff (1998) explains that, in engulfment:

"Certain parts of the self may become unacceptable. Feelings, impulses and needs may be denied, if unacceptable to the other, and form around the feelings, needs, and wishes of others. There may be a loss of contact with one's own unique feelings and needs. One may become unable to distinguish one's own emotions from the other and a fragile self develops – one that is overly dependent."

Paul and Emma's complaints of feeling weak when alone, their clinginess, and emotional need, all seem to be well aligned with engulfment. It would seem that Paul and Emmas' identity is dependent upon others with an over-riding feeling of loneliness.

Emma, paradoxically talks about her "lack of self" when she is without a romantic partner. Ironically she feels lost when in a relationship. One interpretation of this might be her ambivalent attachment patterns, a sequel to the emotional loss of her mother in early development. Emma is in a constant push/pull scenario. Her behaviour indicates a lack of self boundaries, with her identity quite dependent upon being in a relationship. Yet when she is in such a relationship she is still confused, due to being overly dependent on her partner to define who she is. This loss of self boundaries and loss of a sense of self may both stem from excess shame.

It is important to note that this is just one possible interpretation of the data. The self vulnerabilities theme is helpful in highlighting other factors influencing shame states. For example Paul, who has high shame, was sexually abused as a child. He must have been affected by this traumatic experience and thus it would have influenced his high shame

score. In addition he had an unsatisfactory relationship with his mother and felt she did not love him. It is likely that both of these problems during development would impact on his attachment relationships and on his feelings of internalised shame.

A fear of loneliness, rejection, insecurity, emotional neediness, and a weakening of self were all associated with engulfment. This is not surprising due to the previously mentioned characteristics of one who is engulfed in a relationship. All of the high shame female interviewees and additionally Paul and Andrew relate to at least one sub theme of engulfment. Scheff and Retzinger (1998) emphasize the problems of enmeshment in romantic relationships.

It would seem that people with bonding difficulties, such as those with dependency needs that are unfulfilled or denied, are particularly prone to shame. It is as though they are unable to distinguish between their own emotions and those of the other. It is evident that they have developed fragile selves that are overly dependent on relationships with others. They have incomplete functioning within themselves and are therefore unable to have a secure bond with others. These individuals have little self cohesion and depend on others, to a large extent, for a sense of identity.

They also have feelings of fear associated with being alone. In an extreme sense without the other they are nothing and at risk of falling apart.

For the enmeshed individual, feelings, needs and impulses are simply denied, if unacceptable to the other. Many of the above high shame interviewees have indicated that at times they are overly dependent and orientate themselves around the feelings, needs and wishes of others.

Of note was that some low shame individuals did experience insecurity, engulfment and rejection. An interpretation of this surprising

finding is that there is less emotional intensity involved in these feelings. Gloria acknowledges her insecurities and feelings of rejection, and perhaps as a consequence she is very careful in her choices of potential partners. Lucy also thinks relationships are very important and immerses herself in them. This strategy could be based on where their ideal levels of optimal social distance are. Instead of feeling high shame these two individuals are insightful about the importance they place on relationships and feel they are better suited when in a relationship.

Alternatively, Rose indicates that she feels a sense of aloneness most of the time. An interpretation is that this is secondary to her adoption rather than high shame and thus feeling alienated.

It is pertinent that the other extreme of alienation that Retzinger (1998) describes is that of isolation. Isolation was identified as a main theme during analysis. In this category, detachment, self sufficiency and a fear of dependency were considered as associated sub themes. Those in the isolation category tended to be differentiated by gender rather than by their association with high or low shame groups. Thus Dave, Ollie and Jack who were all low in internalised shame reported instances of isolation while John Andrew and Mark from the high shame group also had isolation tendencies. Dave Ollie, Jack and Andrew report love and support from their parents, while John and Mark speak of troubled family backgrounds and a lack of love from their parents.

One interpretation of these findings might be the concept of optimal interpersonal distancing. Retzinger and Scheff (1998) talk about variances with regard to social distance. Thus individuals who have low shame, will have their preferred level of distance in relationships. Some will be happy in being quite independent, whilst some will prefer to be with others. What is

of importance is whether emotional pain is or is not experienced when one is moving between togetherness or separateness. Thus one tentative explanation of the present findings would be that low shame individuals do indeed have less shame with regard to interpersonal distance, and in this circumstance can be comfortable in a state of togetherness. Although they experienced different levels of optimal interpersonal distance, they are better equipped to regulate the distance between extremes. Ollie seems quite emotionally unreactive about being alone, whilst Andrew acknowledges that it is emotionally painful for him to be in a relationship. Similarly John feels a great deal of anxiety about being with others.

What is important to recognise throughout this analysis is that the vulnerabilities expressed by participants would have impacted upon their shame levels, regardless of their attachments with their primary caregivers. Of note was the high degree of mental illness in the high shame category. In future shame research it would possibly be important to eliminate either this variable or ensure specific, comparative analysis is a feature of the research design. Parental influences have been connected to various types of mental illnesses, especially Bulimia (Nathanson, 1992). Shame has also been associated with mental illness as highlighted in the introduction. Thus it might be very difficult to separate convincingly this variable.

It is also important to acknowledge the various forms of abuse Paul, Libby and Anna suffered during their development as a source of shame. (Nathanson, 1992). Additionally their fear of rejection, their engulfment issues and mental illness could all be an effect of abuse.

In the interviews gender did not seem to affect alienation in relationships, but gender did seem to affect the type of alienation that was occurring. Males tended to be isolated whereas females tended to be

enmeshed. There is some evidence to suggest that males may manifest their shame externally as anger and paranoia, something like humiliated fury. Women are more likely to express shame internally as forms of depression, or through self harming behaviours (Anthony, 2000). One question that I would want to answer would be why this directional difference? One explanation could be that males who tend to be more avoidant than ambivalent could be inhibiting their emotion and not acknowledging it, as indicated in previous literature (Dozier & Kobak, 1992). Throughout the analysis references were made by Libby, Anna, Emma and Megan about their dissatisfaction regarding their body weight and attractiveness. Libby and Anna also were diagnosed with bulimia that is highly associated with a controlled parental environment and shame (Nathanson, 1992).

Michael Lewis (1992) illustrates how well-ingrained expectations and stereotypes about behaviours and emotions are uniquely suited to male and female roles across the lifespan. Such processes promote a pattern of internal/global attributions for failure in girls which would strengthen their shame prone emotional responses. Adults feedback of boys, by contrast, support beliefs in the situational-specificity of their undesired behaviours and even encouraged them to develop a pattern of externalisation. When attachment concerns are involved, gender effects do arise with females higher on internalised shame than males.

Many of the individuals who were interviewed expressed an inability to openly express their emotions towards others and felt emotionally stunted. This highlights the importance of expressed emotions as a driving force in regulating bonds. Tomkins (1963) states that it is healthy to be able to express negative emotions, rather than not acknowledge them. Similar to conflict, constructive negative emotions can indicate where individuals

stand in their relationships so that acknowledged shame can be regulated efficiently, and necessary interpersonal changes ensue. Indeed, constructive shame is useful at times to maintain a healthy social distance between self and the other. It also prevents alienation from the self and one is able to acknowledge subjective feelings about the self. Acknowledging both positive and negative emotions helps one to regulate and integrate the self. If shame is unacknowledged, certain negative undercurrents remain which create uncertainties within relationships. If shame is unacknowledged the self becomes alienated from the self (Retzinger, 1998).

The most significant result that emerged from the interviews concerned parental love and support. All low shame interviewees indicated that there were supportive parents available to them when needed. By contrast, Andrew was the only high shame individual who had access to parental love. Bowlby (1980) indicates that it is important to have availability to the primary caregiver and have responsiveness from that person. In this study seven out of the eight high shame participants indicated a lack of parental support throughout their development from one or both parents. It would seem highly likely that love from one's parents impacts crucially on one's shame levels. It has to be acknowledged however that one or both parents may not in fact have been a participant's primary caregiver. Paul's nanny for example may have been his primary caregiver, due to the lack of time he spent with his parents. Despite this caveat, past research and the present points to an absence of parental love and support as damaging to an individual (Bowlby 1980) and resulting in insecure attachment patterns and an excess of negative emotions (Magai 1998).

What stands out in this study is that individuals with low shame have been brought up in a supportive environment and have secure bonds with

their parents. By contrast high shame individuals have problems with their sense of self, and this crosses over into their relationship with others. Most of the latter group had "tough" childhoods, with emotionally distant or suffocating parents. Some were emotionally abused while others were simply emotionally "cut off". Such contempt when shown towards children breeds shame and insecure bonds. Tomkins (1963) highlights the use of contempt to induce shame as one of the most common and powerful means of achieving control over social behaviour. Contempt also has negative side effects, especially in the context of child rearing, because it is so punitive, rejecting and distancing. It prevents the child from feeling secure in the availability and emotional responsiveness of that parent. Emotionally distant/manipulative parents alienate their children and create loneliness and negative self beliefs, whether this is manifest as enmeshment or isolation. These findings do reinforce the importance of parents and family environments. Such avoidant parental styles may prevent the individual expressing negative emotions, such as shame, due to an emotionally unresponsive family environment. Parents who are emotionally cut off from their children and unresponsive to their needs are likely to produce avoidant or ambivalent children. Perhaps avoidant and ambivalent working models prevent the individual from regulating their shame efficiently. In other words if family relationships are avoidant or ambivalent, shame may be passed on from parents to infants in the form of intergenerational shame (Magai, 1998). In Tomkins (1963) system, emotion socialisation is due to particular parental practices. Parents transmit their own biases not only through their behaviour toward the child and the child's affect, but also via their affect, working beliefs and attitudes. It is clearly important for children

to feel loved, supported and able to express both positive and negative emotions.

It is evident from these interviews that happiness in relationships is related to the ability to regulate togetherness and separateness in a way that does not elicit excessive shame. Individuals who are happy in all of their relationships and who have low shame seem to allow for shame that does arise to be acknowledged. The elicitation of shame brings into focal awareness both the self and the other. It enables persons to readjust their behaviour in relation to others by moving closer or further apart.

Andrew, Mark, Paul, Emma, Libby, Megan, Gloria, Rose and Ollie all appeared to have good insight into their social distance with others. High shame individuals Emma, Paul, Libby and Megan in the high shame group identified with being able to be quite changeable in social distancing depending upon whom they were with. These four and additionally Mark all expressed a fear of others' evaluations of them and a fear of rejection. Additionally they made reference to feeling inferior, a key cognition in shame (Lewis 1992).

By contrast, Ollie considers how he can bring up topics of conversation and prevent people from becoming defensive. It appears that all of the high and low shame group have good insight into their social relationships, and Ollie's self remains protected. The remaining high shame individuals are in a fragile state dependent upon others. Gloria and Rose also reveal insight into their personal patterns and admit their inadequacies. Like Dave they have both made conscious efforts to try and change their patterns of behaviour with regard to romantic relationships, but to no avail.

This study provides support for Bowlby's working model (1980), and for Tomkins's schemas. Individuals were able to provide good insight into their ways of dealing with relationships.

There is evidence that individuals function similarly, in relationships across time (Feeny, 1999). Although some individuals experimented with changing their attitudes on their idea of the self and other, this proved very difficult. Gloria attempted to have a series of casual relationships but ended up getting hurt and resort to her old mode. It seems that such working models are instilled early in development and are hard to budge.

In terms of making sense of affective stimuli, individuals may have different interpreting strategies, related to their shame. Thus if one has negative self beliefs and deems themselves inferior, they will interpret separation as potential abandonment. This causes further shame, and further proof that they are unlovable.

If individuals interpret themselves as equals, they are likely to interpret an event such as separation as emotionally neutral and will not feel shame. It may be that individuals who have high shame see everything that the other does as a negative reflection of themselves, as in a reverse looking glass. They not only monitor themselves rigorously but also see the behaviour of others as a direct insult to themselves. In short what they see in others is potential abandonment due to their past negative experiences. This both reflects and reinforces their feelings about themselves. This, as Helen Block Lewis (1971) states, comes in two varieties: a. they are invisible (isolated), or b. their self boundaries are so weak they are profoundly dependent upon another (enmeshed). Emma's partner for instance could never do right, which she believed was always because of her. She

interpreted innocent actions by her partner, as direct threats of abandonment, and felt ensuing panic and shame.

Lucy and Brian were the only two participants in the study who were never identified as having isolation or engulfment patterns. Both participants were in the low shame group, and both were very happy within their family environment and in relationships. Lucy did admit to throwing herself into relationships but felt very secure in such relationships. This small finding may shed light onto positive stable family life as a forecast for future relationships.

Rose, Dave, Andrew and Megan displayed both enmeshment and isolation relationship patterns. Andrew had a fear of loneliness yet was unable to sustain a relationship. Similarly, Megan who was extremely fearful of rejection, did not like being alone and yet felt quite suffocated in romantic relationships. Dave interestingly describes that occasionally his detachment "detaches itself" and he becomes quite clingy and needy. Thus he also suffers from engulfment tendencies although he is usually quite isolated from others. Similarly, Rose talks about vacillating between extremes of separateness and togetherness. Thus for some of the participants the two forms of alienation, togetherness and separateness, were operating within the same individual at various times. Indeed for Andrew and Megan, they seem to be operating at the same time.

Bowlby (1980) talks about two attentional strategies that individuals can use: that of deactivation and hypervigilence. These two "types" map onto avoidant and ambivalent individuals accordingly. Block Lewis describes the reaction of insecurely attached infants, on reunion with their mother with the infant responding by clinging, pulling away and then clinging again. Perhaps Andrew and Megan are displaying what Block

Lewis describes as bypassed shame, and what Bowlby (1980) would refer to as an ambivalent attachment type.

For others such as John and Paul respectively there were marked differences of engulfment and isolation. Both participants differed significantly in their social distancing, although both scored high in shame and both acknowledged difficulties with relationships. Paul describes himself as needy and clingy, whilst John says he feel anxious around people. The question then arises is shame the negative emotion associated with ambivalent and avoidant attachment types? All high shame individuals in this study revealed some isolation and engulfment tendencies. Excluding Andrew, they also revealed a lack of love and support from their families. However six out of the eight low shame individuals also revealed engulfment or isolation as well as a sense of love and support from their parents. Thus neither engulfment nor isolation is consistently dependent upon shame.

Alternative views must be considered as these tentative results are inconclusive and have emerged from a small qualitative study with a relatively homogeneous, specific group. Variables such as mental illness, adoption, sexual and emotional abuse must all be considered. What was interpreted as isolation by the researcher could also be conceived of as a "healthy" independence. Moreover other people may impact upon one's feelings of shame rather than one's parents, be it another primary caregiver, or a bully at school.

Of note is that the high shame individuals in this study indicate a higher sense of emotional reactivity in relationships. Paul describes feelings of jealousy, Emma experiences paranoia and anxiety, Megan suffers from loneliness, Libby feels insecure, Andrew wishes he didn't feel so emotional

about being alone, Anna describes her great need for affection, John relates his anxiety in romantic relationships and Mark bemoans his emotional instability.

Whereas individuals in the low shame group reveal insecurities in their relationships there is less emotional references made throughout their interviews. It is evident that high shame individuals have more mental illness and emotional instability which might account for their high shame scores. An alternative explanation however would be that in such subjects pain is induced as a result of their alienation from self and thus from others. Such rigid positions are extremely hard to shift, and when forced induce negative emotions, which both Scheff and Retzinger (1998) would regard as shame.

About the interviews...

In the interviews it was quite remarkable how open and relaxed participants were. Considering they had never met the researcher before and were asked to reveal personal information. The content of the interviews was at times potentially traumatic, yet little emotion was shown, and at the most, participants exhibited reticence. The researcher did not force questions, and let the silence continue until the interviewee spoke again. Although this might have made the participant uncomfortable, it was sometimes unclear whether s/he was thinking or simply not wanting to say anything more. Thus the researcher, when possible was led by the interviewee.

In retrospect the interviews could have prompted discussion in more depth. After analysing them there are many more questions that "should" have been asked. It perhaps would have been more astute to meet

participants again after initial analysis. This would have cleared up any discrepancies and allowed the participant a further chance to elaborate.

Methodology limitations:

Probably the most limiting factor in investigating negative emotions is ethical and moral restrictions. Researchers are unable to induce shame, and have to rely on other means of tapping into an individual's potential shame. This requires clear, consensually agreed definitions and valid methods. A problem with this present study is the lack of a shame instrument that could investigate my hypothesis. Namely a shame measurement that looks at social distance, unacknowledged shame and self regulation properties. Unfortunately, although there is adequate theory on shame and its relationship to social bonds there is no matching valid measurement. The ISS is the closest measurement to investigating chronic, global shame states, and therefore examining individual's likelihood of unacknowledged shame. The TOSCA, although moderately correlated with the ISS, measures individuals' tendencies to experience shame or guilt in certain situations. It does not necessarily tap into chronic shame states or individuals abilities to function in attachment relationships. However it shares similar properties to the ISS, and therefore validates the ISS. The regression model of ISS was also very strong when including all three attachments and gender.

Limitations of the study...

Like all pencil and paper questionnaires, there is always a problem with participants' motivation. During analysis of the data it was found that

three individuals had great inconsistencies with their attachments scores compared to their ISS score. It was decided that they would be removed. It is likely that these individuals were trying to make a quick buck –five dollars, whilst not really wanting to participate. Once these three individuals had been removed, the correlations and regressions became stronger.

Again the average age of the participants was not ideal in terms of investigating romantic relationships. Some noted on their questionnaires that they had never had a romantic relationship and were therefore guessing. This would obviously create difficulties with the validity of the results. Perhaps if this study is to be replicated it would be desirable to ensure that all participants had at least one romantic relationship, and perhaps one that had lasted longer than six months. Individuals should indicate whether this was a sexual relationship or not.

The quality of interviews could also be questioned in this study. The researcher had little experience in conducting interviews of this nature, and not of this intensity. It might have been worthwhile to have conducted a pilot study initially, to ensure questions were being asked appropriately, in terms of tone and sensitivity. It would also be of value to make sure that questions concerning shame are validated by some means to provide accurate definitions of shame. It might have been useful to gain feedback from the interviewees as to how they felt regarding the competency of the interviewer and whether issues were missed or over looked.

Ideas for future research...

It would be of great importance to conduct research on individuals who are able to regulate their shame appropriately and acknowledge shame. To date I am unaware of any literature in this area. How individuals regulate their shame could be investigated in a multi-pronged approach, perhaps by

means of talking to supportive others, having insight into attachments and reviewing regular diary entries. Keeping a diary might be useful for individuals with unacknowledged shame, who could monitor when they felt bad and why, in terms of understanding the pathology of shame. Diary studies of participants who varied on attachment scores could also be extremely insightful as one could investigate what cognitions were involved, how regularly they occurred and, what incidents were pivotal. This could help in a micro-analysis on thoughts involved in attachment relationships, and the accompanying emotions. It would also be interesting to glean how these individuals express their shame, or whether it was unacknowledged. If such shame was unacknowledged one might discern useful written indicators and markers of unacknowledged shame.

I would be interested to see how insight into individuals' unacknowledged shame affects their acknowledgement of this trait. I also think it would be beneficial to run a series of workshops explaining the function of shame, with regard to regulating social distance. It would be necessary to outline different attachment styles and prominent features of such attachments such as enmeshment or isolation. This may give individuals opportunities to learn how they function. This information would be just as useful to individuals who are not seeking or needing therapy, but simply as an aid to monitoring themselves and enhancing their insight. Alternatively it would be good to give appropriate explanations in therapy, particularly in relationship counselling. Explaining how to acknowledge shame may be the key to reducing conflict in romantic relationships and preventing escalation, which is predominantly bound in unacknowledged shame (Retzinger, 1998).

Of critical importance would be to investigate the different types of insecure attachment types: ambivalent and avoidant, particularly with regards to emotional regulation. Neither seems to be very apt at regulating negative emotion in a healthy, functional way. Investigations into why this is and what kind of child-rearing experiences form this particular working model would be useful.

Tomkins definition of shame with regards to relationships

I would briefly commend Tomkins's (1963) concepts and definition of shame, as I see these as a useful starting point for investigating shame and relationships. Although Tomkins's thoughts and definition of shame has been duly criticised, and for good reason, his description of a retreat from something positive, allowing reconciliation at a later date, is apt when considering shame's purpose in attachments. Almost consensually, shame is considered to motivate individuals to withdraw, to hide, to sink into the ground, and therefore to pull away from their attached others (Tangney, 1991). In the words of Tomkins (1987), shame will occur when "desire outruns fulfilment". This makes shame a very useful emotion in attachments. Attachments are meant to be positive experiences fostering feelings of enjoyment and love. When shame does arise, one removes oneself from the source of the shame: from the other, for a period of time. During this time the individual can assess what has occurred, perhaps formulate what the problem is; what needs are not being met, and what action needs to be taken. Such distancing from the other is useful, as it prevents escalation of the problem, in terms of humiliated fury, and allows the individual to regulate their emotion, and reflect once emotional reactivity has dissipated. This would certainly be of some benefit to individuals who are enmeshed. These individuals, whose self concept is

entirely dependent on the "other", are likely to be caught in a permanent shame state, simply because they will never feel fulfilled without the other, and because separation is so painful.

Implications of the findings...

The results indicate that attachment plays a role in an individual's level of internalised shame. IS is seen as a global, painful feeling state that the individual experiences and one that is persistent and enduring (Cook 1987). Individuals who are high in ambivalence have higher shame scores, and individuals who have higher avoidance scores also have higher shame scores. This provides support for shame's involvement in the regulation of social distance. It indicates that individuals who are enmeshed, as indicated by high levels of ambivalence, experience shame. Individuals who are isolated as measured by avoidant ratings also experience higher levels of shame. Individuals who have low shame also have less avoidance and less ambivalence in all of their relationships.

The study also supports Bowlbys (1980) notion of working models as representations of self and others in attachment relationships. Working models are involved in the regulation and organisation of emotional experience. In less optimal relationships with the primary caregiver and the infant, distress may be paired with negative outcomes, and alternative means of coping with distress and regulating emotion. Findings suggest that children with secure attachments are able to modulate negative affects in a constructive manner. Not only do secure individuals demonstrate an ability to tolerate negative affect while maintaining constructive engagement with others, but they also are able to display positive emotions that enhance social interaction and social competence. Less optimal styles of regulation are evident with more avoidantly attached and higher ambivalent

individuals. The failure to gain comfort from an attachment figure is theoretically expected to lead to anxiety and anger (Bowlby 1973). However in light of these results I posit that shame is the most relevant emotion, anger and anxiety being related in terms of humiliated fury (Block Lewis 1987). Humiliated fury seems likely as ambivalent and avoidantly attached individuals find it more difficult to regulate negative emotion and therefore might find that their shame leads to humiliated fury i.e. anger and anxiety.

Avoidant individuals seem to be emotionally cut off (Bowlby 1980). This may have adaptive value initially as an infant, by reducing conflict with a caregiver. Avoidant individuals may then develop hostile ways of expressing emotions in social relationships.

Ambivalent patterns also involve high levels of anger, fear and distress displayed directly towards the caregiver (Dozier& Kobak 1992). I similarly posit that shame is at play as well, yet because of the different working models of such ambivalent individuals, shame is more overt. The distress of shame seems to be triggered at a low threshold for ambivalent individuals, which may allow them to keep close contact with the attachment figure. This pattern may interfere with the ability of the individual to maintain a sense of self and self confidence without the attachment figure. These individuals may appear more helpless and fearful in social situations. Such self deprecating behaviour is not likely to be deemed as an attractive social display. It is likely that ambivalent individuals are less self confident and more fearful in social situations than secure or avoidant types.

The present results provide tentative support for there being a number of adult attachment types and corresponding styles of the regulation

of shame. Shames regulation seems to be at its most unambiguous in those individuals who had low ambivalent and avoidant ratings. Self reports of fewer symptoms of shame and higher social competence among the low shame group interviewed, provided evidence of better adjustment. Most importantly the low shame group reported higher levels of love and support from family than did the high shame individuals. This finding suggests that individuals with less IS, are more secure in their attachment relationships, and they see their attachments as more available and supportive. It is likely that this occurs through emotional regulation abilities which in turn are based on internal working models of self and other. The other is seen as emotionally supportive and responsive to one's needs (Bowlby 1980).

To conclude...

As social creatures we have been given the burden of being social and autonomous simultaneously. How do we, as human beings, balance the needs both for autonomy and dependence? Inability to regulate these two extremes leads to social alienation, a strong emotional response, and in particular to shame. Acknowledgement of shame can help balance these forces, bridge the gap between persons, and reduce emotional reactivity and psychological pain.

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Table 1

Avoidant attachment and shame

Source	*df*	SS	MS	*F*
Between subjects	198	26543.84		
Sex	1	566.02	566.02	4.292 *
Ss w/in groups	197	25977.82	131.87	
Within subjects	398	25276.88		
Attachment	2	1652.76	826.38	14.058 ***
A * S	2	463.59	231.80	3.943 *
A * Ss w/in groups	394	23160.52	58.78	
Total	596	51820.71		

* $p < .05$; *** $p < .001$

	Male	Female
Romantic	27.232	25.52
Family	17.495	15.84
Friend	23.758	20.86

	Male	Female
Romantic	-3.899	-3.37
Family	-5.98	-9.41
Friend	-3.889	-6.83

Table 2

Ambivalent attachment and shame

Source	*df*	SS	MS	*F*
Between subjects	198	22000.81		
Sex	1	650.85	650.85	6.006 *
Ss w/in groups	197	21349.96	108.38	
Within subjects	398	27948.68		
Attachment	2	9460.66	4730.33	101.076 ***
A * S	2	48.96	24.48	0.523 *ns*
A * Ss w/in groups	394	18439.06	46.80	
Total	596	49949.49		

* $p < .05$; *** $p < .001$

Table 3

Regressions to explore romantic attachment as predictor of ISS

	Unstandardised Coefficients		Standardised Coefficients			Correlation
Variable	*B*	*Std. Err.*	*Beta*	*t*	*p-level*	*Zero-order*
(Constant)	16.164	3.594		4.497	0.000	
Sex	4.636	2.002	0.144	2.316	0.022	0.114
Avoidant	0.394	0.117	0.217	3.369	0.001	0.332
Ambivalent	0.688	0.116	0.386	5.960	0.000	0.434

$R = .506$, $R^2 = .256$, Adjusted $R^2 = .245$

$F(3, 195) = 22.389$, $p < .001$, Standard Error of Estimate = 14.029

Coefficients	Collinearity Statistic
Semi-partial	*Tolerance*
0.143	0.988
0.208	0.916
0.368	0.908

Table 4

Regressions to explore family attachment as a predictor for ISS

	Unstandardised Coefficients		Standardised Coefficients			Correlation
Variable	*B*	*Std. Err.*	*Beta*	*t*	*p-level*	*Zero-order*
(Constant)	25.827	3.471		7.441	0.000	
Sex	6.400	2.056	0.199	3.113	0.002	0.114
Avoidant	0.505	0.120	0.297	4.215	0.000	0.377
Ambivalent	0.604	0.159	0.265	3.790	0.000	0.371

$R = .483, R^2 = .233$, Adjusted $R^2 = .221$

$F(3, 195) = 19.728, p < .001$, Standard Error of Estimate = 14.248

Coefficients	Collinearity Statistic
Semi-partial	*Tolerance*
0.195	0.965
0.264	0.792
0.238	0.807

Table 5

Regressions to explore frienship attachment as a predictor of Shame

	Unstandardised Coefficients		Standardised Coefficients			Correlation		
Variable	*B*	*Std. Err.*	*Beta*	*t*	*p-level*	*Zero-order*	*Semi-partial*	*Tolerance*
(Constant)	14.231	3.929		3.622	0.000			
Sex	6.890	1.959	0.214	3.517	0.001	0.114	0.210	0.965
Avoidant	0.260	0.131	0.148	1.982	0.049	0.379	0.118	0.643
Ambivalent	0.848	0.142	0.447	5.992	0.000	0.499	0.358	0.641

$R = .551$, $R^2 = .304$, Adjusted $R^2 = .293$

$F(3, 195) = 28.338$, $p < .001$, Standard Error of Estimate = 13.575

Table 6

Regressions for TOSCA shame

	Unstandardised Coefficients		Standardised Coefficients			Correlation	Coefficients	Collinearity Statistic
Variable	*B*	*Std. Err.*	*Beta*	*t*	*p-level*	*Zero-order*	*Semi-partial*	*Tolerance*
(Constant)	37.595	2.131		17.645	0.000			
Sex	4.924	1.186	0.275	4.150	0.000	0.264	0.273	0.988
Avoidant	0.191	0.069	0.189	2.755	0.006	0.248	0.181	0.916
Ambivalent	0.176	0.068	0.177	2.567	0.011	0.205	0.169	0.908

$R = .395$, $R^2 = .156$, Adjusted $R^2 = .143$

$F(3, 195) = 11.990$, $p < .001$, Standard Error of Estimate = 8.316

Table 6a

Regressions with TOSCA shame

	Unstandardised Coefficients		Standardised Coefficients			Correlation	Coefficients	Collinearity Statistic
Variable	*B*	*Std. Err.*	*Beta*	*t*	*p-level*	*Zero-order*	*Semi-partial*	*Tolerance*
(Constant)	28.260	2.287		12.357	0.000			
Sex	6.098	1.141	0.340	5.343	0.000	0.264	0.334	0.966
Romantic	0.096	0.067	0.097	1.429	0.155	0.205	0.089	0.857
Family	0.216	0.086	0.170	2.502	0.013	0.253	0.157	0.850
Friend	0.294	0.074	0.279	3.988	0.000	0.313	0.250	0.801

$R = .490$, $R^2 = .240$, Adjusted $R^2 = .224$

$F(4, 194) = 15.295$, $p < .001$, Standard Error of Estimate = 7.912

Table 7

Regressions using TOSCA shame

	Unstandardised Coefficients		Standardised Coefficients			Correlation	Coefficients	Collinearity Statistic
Variable	*B*	*Std. Err.*	*Beta*	*t*	*p-level*	*Zero-order*	*Semi-partial*	*Tolerance*
(Constant)	37.595	2.131		17.645	0.000			
Sex	4.924	1.186	0.275	4.150	0.000	0.264	0.273	0.988
Avoidant	0.191	0.069	0.189	2.755	0.006	0.248	0.181	0.916
Ambivalent	0.176	0.068	0.177	2.567	0.011	0.205	0.169	0.908

$R = .395$, $R^2 = .156$, Adjusted $R^2 = .143$

$F(3, 195) = 11.990$, $p < .001$, Standard Error of Estimate = 8.316

Table 8

Regression to find best predictive model for shame with avoidant attachment style

	Unstandardised Coefficients		Standardised Coefficients			Correlation	Coefficients	Collinearity Statistic
Variable	*B*	*Std. Err.*	*Beta*	*t*	*p-level*	*Zero-order*	*Semi-partial*	*Tolerance*
(Constant)	39.248	1.557		25.211	0.000			
Sex	6.269	2.004	0.195	3.128	0.002	0.114	0.190	0.952
Romantic	0.387	0.115	0.213	3.375	0.001	0.332	0.205	0.921
Family	0.452	0.116	0.266	3.894	0.000	0.377	0.236	0.791
Friend	0.427	0.121	0.243	3.521	0.001	0.379	0.214	0.776

$R = .534$, $R^2 = .285$, Adjusted $R^2 = .270$

$F(4, 194) = 19.348$, $p < .001$, Standard Error of Estimate = 13.788

Table 10

Regression to find the best predictive model for TOSCA shame with avoidant attachment style

	Unstandardised Coefficients		Standardised Coefficients			Correlation	Coefficients	Collinearity Statistic
Variable	*B*	*Std. Err.*	*Beta*	*t*	*p-level*	*Zero-order*	*Semi-partial*	*Tolerance*
(Constant)	43.929	0.910		48.256	0.000			
Sex	5.740	1.172	0.320	4.898	0.000	0.264	0.312	0.952
Romantic	0.158	0.067	0.157	2.363	0.019	0.248	0.151	0.921
Family	0.152	0.068	0.161	2.241	0.026	0.220	0.143	0.791
Friend	0.197	0.071	0.201	2.771	0.006	0.258	0.177	0.776

$R = .459$, $R^2 = .210$, Adjusted $R^2 = .194$

$F(4, 194) = 12.930$, $p < .001$, Standard Error of Estimate = 8.063

Table 11

Regression to find the best predictive model for TOSCA shame with ambivalent attachment style

	Unstandardised Coefficients		Standardised Coefficients			Correlation	Coefficients	Collinearity Statistic
Variable	*B*	*Std. Err.*	*Beta*	*t*	*p-level*	*Zero-order*	*Semi-partial*	*Tolerance*
(Constant)	28.260	2.287		12.357	0.000			
Sex	6.098	1.141	0.340	5.343	0.000	0.264	0.334	0.966
Romantic	0.096	0.067	0.097	1.429	0.155	0.205	0.089	0.857
Family	0.216	0.086	0.170	2.502	0.013	0.253	0.157	0.850
Friend	0.294	0.074	0.279	3.988	0.000	0.313	0.250	0.801

$R = .490$, $R^2 = .240$, Adjusted $R^2 = .224$

$F(4, 194) = 15.295$, $p < .001$, Standard Error of Estimate = 7.912

Table 12

Family Environment variables as predictors of ISS

	Unstandardised Coefficients		Standardised Coefficients			Correlation	Coefficients	Collinearity Statistic
Variable	*B*	*Std. Err.*	*Beta*	*t*	*p-level*	*Zero-order*	*Semi-partial*	*Tolerance*
(Constant)	41.566	12.355		3.364	0.001			
Sex	4.135	2.350	0.128	1.759	0.080	0.114	0.121	0.894
Cohesion	-0.160	0.086	-0.168	-1.863	0.064	-0.226	-0.129	0.587
Expression	-0.130	0.104	-0.107	-1.256	0.211	-0.205	-0.087	0.654
Conflict	0.033	0.125	0.023	0.260	0.795	0.180	0.018	0.626
Independence	0.010	0.093	0.009	0.108	0.914	-0.092	0.007	0.763
Control	0.064	0.117	0.048	0.547	0.585	0.156	0.038	0.619

R = .292, R2 = .085, Adjusted R2 = .057
F(6, 192) = 2.987, p < .01, Standard Error of Estimate = 15.677

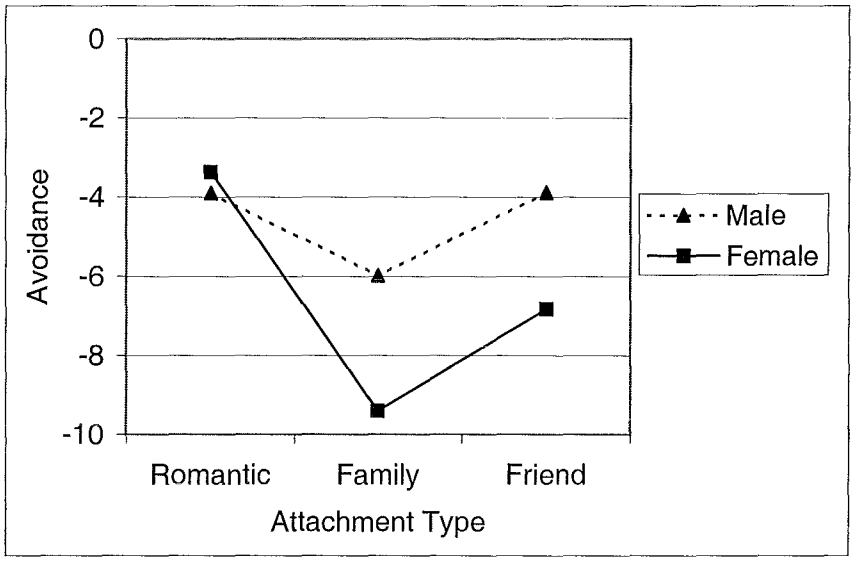
Table 13

Family Environment Variables as Predictors of Tosca Shame

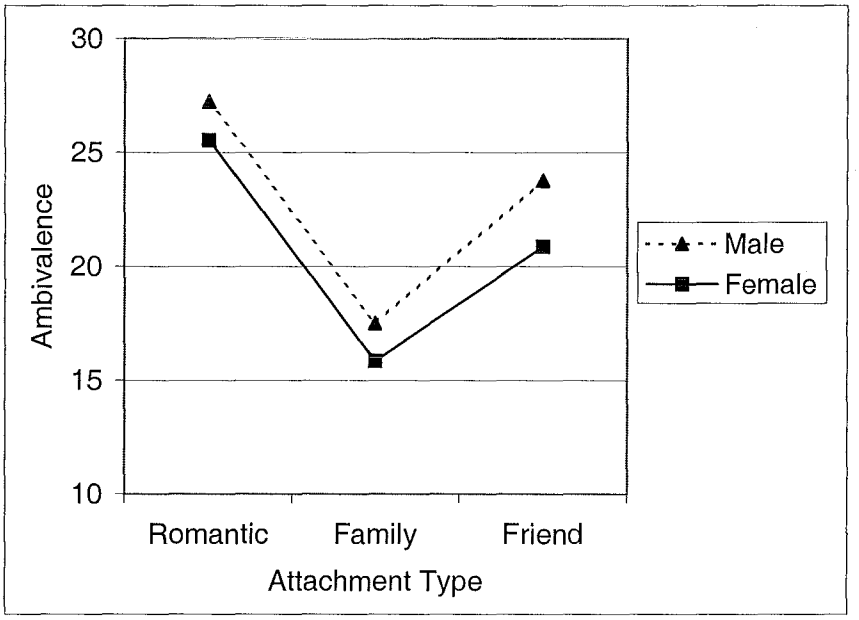
	Unstandardised Coefficients		Standardised Coefficients			Correlation		
Variable	*B*	*Std. Err.*	*Beta*	*t*	*p-level*	*Zero-order*	*Semi-partial*	*Tolerance*
(Constant)	47.971	6.739		7.118	0.000			
Sex	5.279	1.282	0.295	4.118	0.000	0.264	0.279	0.894
Cohesion	-0.072	0.047	-0.135	-1.533	0.127	-0.132	-0.104	0.587
Expression	-0.082	0.057	-0.122	-1.445	0.147	-0.178	-0.098	0.654
Conflict	-0.070	0.068	-0.087	-1.020	0.309	0.098	-0.069	0.626
Independence	0.022	0.051	0.033	0.428	0.669	-0.080	0.029	0.763
Control	0.067	0.064	0.091	1.061	0.290	0.166	0.072	0.619

$R = .348$, $R^2 = .121$, Adjusted $R^2 = .094$

$F(6, 192) = 4.410$, $p < .001$, Standard Error of Estimate = 8.551



(a)



(b)

Figure 1. Interaction effect of Attachment Type × Gender for Avoidance (a) and Ambivalence (b)

Appendix A.

Questionnaire

Shame and its influence in social relationships

Note: You are invited to participate in the research project Shame and its influence in social relationships by completing the following questionnaires. The aim of the project is to test the hypothesis that the emotion shame is crucial to the regulation of social relationships. This project is being carried out as a requirement for a masters in psychology by Elizabeth Pollock under the supervision of Professor Ken Strongman. Elizabeth can be contacted at any time via her e-mail address elp17@student.canterbury.ac.nz. Professor Strongman can be contacted via his e-mail address at k.strongman@psyc.canterbury.ac.nz.
I would be pleased to discuss any concerns you may have about participation in the project.

The questionnaire is anonymous, and you will not be identified as a participant without your consent. You may, at any time, withdraw your participation, including withdrawal of any information you have provided. At the completion of the questionnaires you will be paid five dollars for your time.

Some of these questionnaires delve into your family background, how you feel about your family, your romantic relationships and your friendships. There is also a questionnaire regarding how you feel about yourself. If at any stage you feel distressed during or after the experiment, a list of counsellors will be available for face to face or telephone counselling.

By completing the questionnaire, however, it will be understood that you have consented to participate in the project, and that you consent to publication of the results of the project with the understanding that anonymity will be preserved.

The project has been reviewed by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee.

Signed.....

Appendix B

Directions: Below is a list of statements describing feelings or experiences that you may have from time to time or that are familiar to you because you have had these feelings and experiences for a long time. Most of these statements describe feelings and experiences that are generally painful or negative in some way. Everyone has had some of these feelings at some time, but if you find that these statements describe the way you feel a good deal of the time, it can be painful just reading them. Try to be as honest as you can in responding.

Read each statement carefully and circle the number to the left of the item that indicates the frequency with which you find yourself feeling or experiencing what is described in the statement. Use the scale below . DO NOT OMIT ANY ITEM.

SCALE: 0 = NEVER
1 = SELDOM
2 = SOMETIMES
3= OFTEN
4= ALMOST ALWAYS

SCALE

0 1 2 3 4 1. I feel like I am never quite good enough.

0 1 2 3 4 2.I feel somehow left out.

0 1 2 3 4 3.I think that people look down on me.

0 1 2 3 4 4. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a success.

0 1 2 3 4 5. I scold myself and put myself down.

0 1 2 3 4 6. I feel insecure about others' opinions of me.

0 1 2 3 4 7. Compared to other people, I feel like I somehow never measure up.

0 1 2 3 4 8.I see myself as being very small and insignificant

0 1 2 3 4 9. I feel I have much to be proud of.

0 1 2 3 4 10. I feel intensely inadequate and full of self-doubt.

0 1 2 3 4 11.I feel as if I am somehow defective as a person, like there is something basically wrong with me.

0 1 2 3 4 12. When I compare myself to others I am just not as important.

0 1 2 3 4 13. I have an overpowering dread that my faults will be revealed in front of others.

0 1 2 3 4 14.I feel I have a number of good qualities.

0 1 2 3 4 15. I see myself striving for perfection only to continually fall short.

0 1 2 3 4 16. I think others are able to see my defects.

0 1 2 3 4 17. I could beat myself over the head with a club when I make a mistake.

0 1 2 3 4 18. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.
0 1 2 3 4 19. I would like to shrink away when I make a mistake.

0 1 2 3 4 20. I replay painful events over and over in my mind until I am overwhelmed

0 1 2 3 4 21. I feel I am a person of worth at least on an equal plane with others.

0 1 2 3 4 22. At times, I feel like I will break into a thousand pieces.

0 1 2 3 4 23. I feel as though I have lost control over my bodily functions and my feelings.

0 1 2 3 4 24. Sometimes I feel no bigger than a pea.

0 1 2 3 4 25. At times, I feel so exposed that I wish the earth would open up and swallow me.

0 1 2 3 4 26. I have this painful gap within me that I have not been able to fill.

0 1 2 3 4 27. I feel empty and unfulfilled.

0 1 2 3 4 28. I take a positive attitude toward myself.

0 1 2 3 4 29. My loneliness is more like emptiness.

0 1 2 3 4 30. I feel like there is something missing.

Appendix C
Close relationship scale

Rate each item below with reference to your **romantic close relationships** in general by circling one number in each scale.

1.I find it relatively easy to get close to my romantic partner(s)

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree

2. I'm not very comfortable having to depend on my romantic partner(s).

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree

3. I am comfortable having my romantic partner(s) depend on me.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

4. I rarely worry about being abandoned by my romantic partner(s) .

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

5. I don't like my romantic partner(s) getting too close to me.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

6. I'm somewhat uncomfortable being too close to my romantic partner(s).

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

7. I find it difficult to trust my romantic partner(s) completely.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

8. I'm nervous whenever my romantic partner(s) gets too close to me.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

9. My romantic partner(s) often want me to be more intimate than I feel comfortable being.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

10. My romantic partner(s) often are reluctant to get as close as I would like.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

11. I often worry that my partner(s) don't really love me.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

12. I rarely worry about my partner(s) leaving me.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree

13. I often want to merge completely with my romantic partner(s), and this desire sometimes scares them away.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

14. I am confident my romantic partner(s) would never hurt me by suddenly ending our relationship.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

15. I usually want more closeness and intimacy than my romantic partner(s) do.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

16. The thought of being left by my romantic partner(s) rarely enters my mind.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

17. I am confident that my romantic partner(s) love me just as much as I love them.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

Appendix D

Close Friendship scale

Rate each item below with reference to your CLOSE FRIENDSHIPS in general by circling one number in each scale.

1. I find it relatively easy to get close to my friends

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree

2. I'm not very comfortable having to depend on my friends.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree

3. I am comfortable having my friends depend on me.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

4. I rarely worry about being abandoned by my friends.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

5. I don't like my friends getting too close to me.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

6. I'm somewhat uncomfortable being too close to my friends.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

7. I find it difficult to trust my friends completely.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

8. I'm nervous whenever anyone of my friends gets too close to me.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

9. Friends often want me to be more intimate than I feel comfortable being.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

10. Friends often are reluctant to get as close as I would like.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

11. I often worry that my friends(s) don't really like me.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

12. I rarely worry about my friends(s) leaving me.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree

13. I often want to merge completely with my friends, and this desire sometimes scares them away.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

14. I am confident my friends would never hurt me by suddenly ending our relationship.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

15. I usually want more closeness and intimacy than my friends do.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

16. The thought of being left by friends rarely enters my mind.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

17. I am confident that my friends(s) like me just as much as I like them.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

Appendix E.
Rate each item below with reference to members of your **immediate family in general** by circling one number in each scale.

1. I find it relatively easy to get close to family members

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree

2. I'm not very comfortable having to depend on family members.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree

3. I am comfortable having other family members depend on me.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

4. I rarely worry about being abandoned by family members.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

5. I don't like family members getting too close to me.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

6. I'm somewhat uncomfortable being too close to family members.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

7. I find it difficult to trust family members completely.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

8. I'm nervous whenever anyone gets too close to me.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

9. Family members often want me to be more intimate than I feel comfortable being.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

10. Family members often are reluctant to get as close as I would like.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

11. I often worry that my family don't really love me.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

12. I rarely worry about my family leaving me.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree

13. I often want to merge completely with my family, and this desire sometimes scares them away.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

14. I am confident family members would never hurt me by suddenly ending our relationship.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

15. I usually want more closeness and intimacy than other family members do.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

16. The thought of being left by other family members rarely enters my mind.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

17. I am confident that my family love me just as much as I love them.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

LISTED BELOW ARE A NUMBER OF STATEMENTS ABOUT FAMILIES.

PLEASE TICK EACH STATEMENT THAT IS TRUE ABOUT YOUR FAMILY.
(NOTE ONLY TRUE OR FALSE ANSWERS ARE ACCEPTABLE –
THERE'S NO IN-BETWEEN)

DON'T DELIBERATE TOO LONG ON ANY ONE STATEMENT
FIRST IMPRESSIONS ARE BEST.

FAMILY MEMBERS REALLY HELP AND SUPPORT ONE ANOTHER.
FAMILY MEMBERS OFTEN KEEP THEIR FEELINGS TO THEMSELVES.
WE FIGHT A LOT IN OUR FAMILY.
WE DON'T DO THINGS ON OUR OWN VERY OFTEN IN OUR FAMILY.
FAMILY MEMBERS ARE RARELY ORDERED AROUND.
WE OFTEN SEEM TO BE KILLING TIME AT HOME.
WE SAY ANYTHING WE WANT TO AROUND HOME.
FAMILY MEMBERS RARELY BECOME OPENLY ANGRY.
IN OUR FAMILY, WE ARE STRONGLY ENCOURAGED TO BE INDEPENDENT.
THERE ARE VERY FEW RULES TO FOLLOW IN OUR FAMILY.
WE PUT A LOT OF ENERGY INTO WHAT WE DO AT HOME.
IT'S HARD TO 'BLOW OFF STEAM' AT HOME WITHOUT UPSETTING SOMEBODY.
FAMILY MEMBERS SOMETIMES GET SO ANGRY THEY THROW THINGS.
WE THINK THINGS OUT FOR OURSELVES IN OUR FAMILY.
THERE IS ONE FAMILY MEMBER WHO MAKES MOST OF THE DECISIONS.
THERE IS A FEELING OF TOGETHERNESS IN OUR FAMILY.
WE TELL EACH OTHER ABOUT OUR PERSONAL PROBLEMS.
FAMILY MEMBERS HARDLY EVER LOSE THEIR TEMPERS.
WE COME AND GO AS WE WANT TO IN OUR FAMILY.
THERE ARE SET WAYS OF DOING THINGS AT HOME.
WE RARELY VOLUNTEER WHEN SOMETHING HAS TO BE DONE AT HOME.
IF WE FEEL LIKE DOING SOMETHING ON THE SPUR OF THE MOMENT, WE OFTEN JUST PICK UP AND GO.
FAMILY MEMBERS OFTEN CRITICIZE EACH OTHER.
THERE IS VERY LITTLE PRIVACY IN OUR FAMILY.
THERE IS A STRONG EMPHASIS ON FOLLOWING RULES IN OUR FAMILY.
FAMILY MEMBERS REALLY BACK EACH OTHER UP.

SOMEONE USUALLY GETS UPSET IF YOU COMPLAIN IN OUR FAMILY.

FAMILY MEMBERS SOMETIMES HIT EACH OTHER.

FAMILY MEMBERS ALMOST ALWAYS RELY ON THEMSELVES WHEN A PROBLEM COMES UP.

EVERYONE HAS AN EQUAL SAY IN FAMILY DECISIONS.

THERE IS VERY LITTLE GROUP SPIRIT IN OUR FAMILY.

MONEY AND PAYING BILLS IS OPENLY TALKED ABOUT IN OUR FAMILY.

IF THERE'S A DISAGREEMENT IN OUR FAMILY, WE TRY HARD TO SMOOTH THINGS OVER AND KEEP THE PEACE.

FAMILY MEMBERS STRONGLY ENCOURAGE EACH OTHER TO STAND UP FOR THEIR RIGHTS.

WE CAN DO WHATEVER WE WANT TO IN OUR FAMILY.

WE REALLY GET ALONG WELL WITH EACH OTHER.

WE ARE USUALLY CAREFUL ABOUT WHAT WE SAY TO EACH OTHER.

FAMILY MEMBERS OFTEN TRY TO ONE-UP OR OUT-DO EACH OTHER.

IT'S HARD TO BE BY YOURSELF WITHOUT HURTING SOMEONE'S FEELINGS IN OUR HOUSEHOLD.

RULES ARE PRETTY INFLEXIBLE IN OUR HOUSEHOLD.

THERE IS PLENTY OF TIME AND ATTENTION FOR EVERYONE IN OUR FAMILY.

THERE ARE A LOT OF SPONTANEOUS DISCUSSIONS IN OUR FAMILY.

IN OUR FAMILY, WE BELIEVE YOU DON'T GET ANYWHERE BY RAISING YOUR VOICE.

WE ARE NOT REALLY ENCOURAGED TO SPEAK UP FOR OURSELVES IN OUR FAMILY.

YOU CAN'T GET AWAY WITH MUCH IN OUR FAMILY.

Appendix G

TOSCA

Below are situations that people are likely to encounter in day-to-day life, followed by several common reactions to those situations.

As you read each scenario, try to imagine yourself in that situation. Then indicate how likely you would be to react in each of the ways described. We ask you to rate all responses because people may feel or react more than one way to the same situation, or they may react different ways at different times.

For example:

A. You wake up early one Saturday morning. It is cold and rainy outside.

a) You would telephone a friend to catch up on news. (1)---2---3---4---5
not likely very likely

b) You would take the extra time to read the paper. 1---2---3---4---(5)
not likely very likely

c) You would feel disappointed that it's raining. 1---2---(3)---4---5
not likely very likely

d) You would wonder why you woke up so early. 1---2---3---(4)---5
not likely very likely

In the above example, I've rated ALL of the answers by circling a number. I circled a "1" for answer (a) because I wouldn't want to wake up a friend very early on a Saturday morning -- so it's not at all likely that I would do that. I circled a "5" for answer (b) because I almost always read the paper if I have time in the morning (very likely). I circled a "3" for answer (c) because for me it's about half and half. Sometimes I would be disappointed about the rain and sometimes I wouldn't -- it would depend on what I had planned. And I circled a "4" for answer (d) because I would probably wonder why I had awakened so early.

Please do not skip any items -- rate all responses.

1. You make plans to meet a friend for lunch. At 5 o'clock, you realize you stood him up.

a) You would think: "I'm inconsiderate." 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

b) You would think: "Well, they'll understand." 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

c) You would try to make it up to him as soon as possible. 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

d) You would think: "My boss distracted me just before lunch." 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

2. You break something at work and then hide it.

a) You would think: "This is making me anxious. I need to either fix it or get someone else to." 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

b) You would think about quitting. 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

c) You would think: "A lot of things aren't made very well these days." 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

d) You would think: "It was only an accident." 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

3. You are out with friends one evening, and you're feeling especially witty and attractive. Your best friend's spouse seems to particularly enjoy your company.

a) You would think: "I should have been aware of what my best friend is feeling." 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

b) You would feel happy with your appearance and personality. 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

c) You would feel pleased to have made such a good impression. 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

d) You would think your best friend should pay attention to his/her spouse. 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

e) You would probably avoid eye-contact for a long time. 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

4. At work, you wait until the last minute to plan a project, and it turns out badly.

a) You would feel incompetent. 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

b) You would think: "There are never enough hours in the day." 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

c) You would feel: "I deserve to be reprimanded." 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

d) You would think: "What's done is done." 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

5. You make a mistake at work and find out a co-worker is blamed for the error.

a) You would think the company did not like the co-worker. 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

b) You would think: "Life is not fair." 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

c) You would keep quiet and avoid the co-worker. 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

d) You would feel unhappy and eager to correct the situation. 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

6. For several days you put off making a difficult phone call. At the last minute you make the call and are able to manipulate the conversation so that all goes well.

a) You would think: "I guess I'm more persuasive than I thought." 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

b) You would regret that you put it off. 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

c) You would feel like a coward. 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

d) You would think: "I did a good job." 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

e) You would think you shouldn't have to make calls you feel pressured into. 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

7. You make a commitment to diet, but when you pass the bakery you buy a dozen donuts.

a) Next meal, you would eat celery to make up for it. 1---2---3---4---5
not likely very likely

b) You would think: "They looked too good to pass by." 1---2---3---4---5
not likely very likely

c) You would feel disgusted with your lack of will power and self-control. 1---2---3---4---5
not likely very likely

d) You would think: "Once won't matter." 1---2---3---4---5
not likely very likely

8. While playing around, you throw a ball and it hits your friend in the face.

a) You would feel inadequate that you can't even throw a ball. 1---2---3---4---5
not likely very likely

b) You would think maybe your friend needs more practice at catching. 1---2---3---4---5
not likely very likely

c) You would think: "It was just an accident." 1---2---3---4---5
not likely very likely

d) You would apologize and make sure your friend feels better. 1---2---3---4---5
not likely very likely

9. You have recently moved away from your family, and everyone has been very helpful. A few times you needed to borrow money, but you paid it back as soon as you could.

a) You would feel immature. 1---2---3---4---5
not likely very likely

b) You would think: "I sure ran into some bad luck." 1---2---3---4---5
not likely very likely

c) You would return the favor as quickly as you could. 1---2---3---4---5
not likely very likely

d) You would think: "I am a trustworthy person." 1---2---3---4---5
not likely very likely

e) You would be proud that you repaid your debts. 1---2---3---4---5
not likely very likely

10. You are driving down the road, and you hit a small animal.

a) You would think the animal shouldn't have been on the road. 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

b) You would think: "I'm terrible." 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

c) You would feel: "Well, it was an accident." 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

d) You would probably think it over several times wondering if you could have avoided it. 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

11. You walk out of an exam thinking you did extremely well. Then you find out you did poorly.

a) You would think: "Well, it's just a test." 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

b) You would think: "The instructor doesn't like me." 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

c) You would think: "I should have studied harder." 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

d) You would feel stupid. 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

12. You and a group of co-workers worked very hard on a project. Your boss singles you out for a bonus because the project was such a success.

a) You would feel the boss is rather short-sighted. 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

b) You would feel alone and apart from your colleagues. 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

c) You would feel your hard work had paid off. 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

d) You would feel competent and proud of yourself. 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

e) You would feel you should not accept it. 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

13. While out with a group of friends, you make fun of a friend who's not there.

a) You would think: "It was all in fun; it's harmless." 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

b) You would feel small...like a rat." 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

c) You would think that perhaps that friend should have been there to defend himself/herself. 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

d) You would apologize and talk about that person's good points. 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

14. You make a big mistake on an important project at work. People were depending on you, and your boss criticizes you.

a) You would think your boss should have been more clear about what was expected of you. 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

b) You would feel like you wanted to hide. 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

c) You would think: "I should have recognized the problem and done a better job." 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

d) You would think: "Well, nobody's perfect." 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

15. You volunteer to help with the local Special Olympics for handicapped children. It turns out to be frustrating and time-consuming work. You think seriously about quitting, but then you see how happy the kids are.

a) You would feel selfish and you'd think you are basically lazy. 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

b) You would feel you were forced into doing something you did not want to do. 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

c) You would think: "I should be more concerned about people who are less fortunate." 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

d) You would feel great that you had helped others. 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

e) You would feel very satisfied with yourself. 1---2---3---4---5 not likely very likely

Appendix H.
Interview questions as a **general outline**

I want to first focus on your family dynamics. I am trying to find out your thoughts about your family, key events that have happened in your family that you think has influenced your development.

The self:
Can you describe some traits that you consider important, personality , emotional physical attributes that you would like to have as the ideal person . Can you see yourself as this person
Are their times when you feel flawed?
How do you take criticism?

Friends

What are you friendship dynamics like, do you feel there are limitations with your friendships

Romantic partner:
How do you feel about romantic relationships
How have your past relationships shaped how you view them now